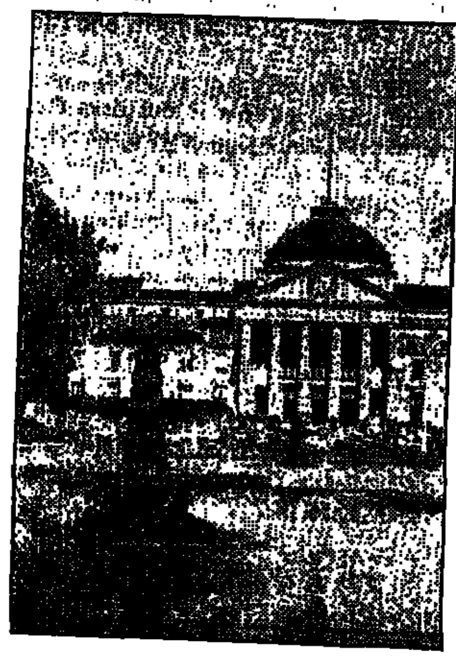
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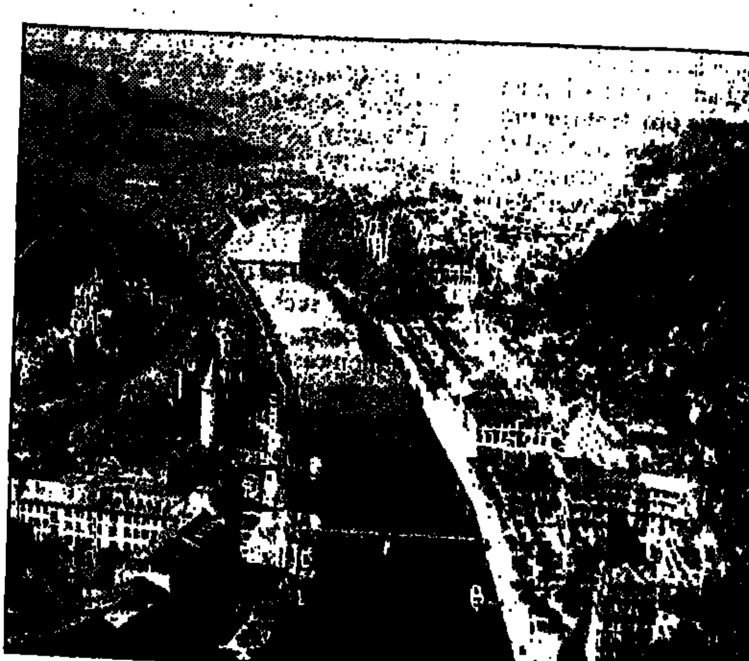
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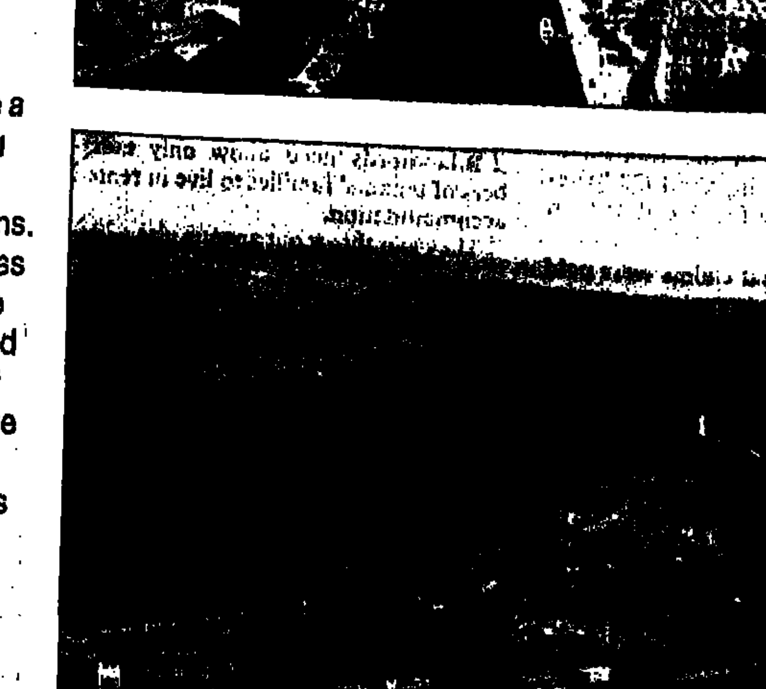
The Spa Route



German roads will get you there, say to spas and health resorts spread not all over the country but along a route easily travelled and scenically attractive. From Lahnstein, opposite Koblenz, the Spa Route runs along the wooded chain of hills that border the Rhine valley. Health cures in these resorts are particularly successful in dealing with rheumatism and gynaecological disorders and cardiac and circulatory complaints. Even if you haven't enough time to take a full course of treatment, you ought to take a look at a few pump rooms and sanatoriums. In Bad Ems you must not miss the historic inn known as the *Wirtshaus an der Lahn*. In Bad Schwalbach see for yourself the magnificent *Kursaal*. Take a walk round the Kurpark in Wiesbaden and see the city's casino. Elegant Wiesbaden dates back to the late 19th century Wilhelminian era.

Visit Germany and let the Spa Route be your guide.

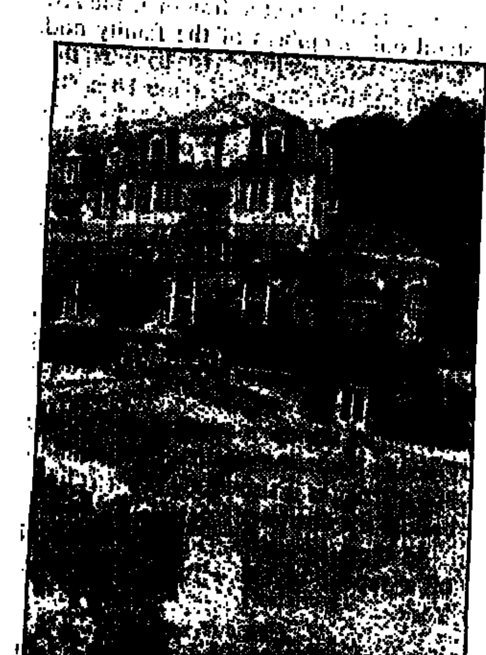












1 Wiesbaden
2 Schlangenbad
3 Bad Ems
4 Bad Schwalbach

The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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ISSN 0016-8858

...burg, 3 July 1983
...ty-second year - No. 1090 - By air

Kohl not likely to mince words in Moscow

...cellor Kohl's visit to Moscow in ... July comes at an awkward time. ...eneva talks on missiles and missile ...nisation in Europe are in full swing ...elations between the superpowers ...ooled off. The chill has set in to ...n extent that Soviet Foreign Minis... ...omyko has dismissed any idea of a ...t meeting between Presidents An... ...y and Reagan as an immediate pro... ... Painstaking preparations were ...d for a summit meeting, Mr Gro... ...said. So were atmospheric improve... ... that Washington was not prepared ...ke at present.

...hancellor Kohl will make no bones ...about the negative aspects of rela... ... between Bonn and Moscow dur... ...is visit to the Soviet capital.

...rman diplomats in Moscow hint ...Herr Kohl and his Foreign Minis... *Herr* Genscher, will be telling the ...t leaders what doesn't satisfy ...

...t the Chancellor will be stressing ...'s interest in good relations with ...Soviet Union even if missile moder... ...ion goes ahead.

...e same sources suggest that Bonn ...d prefer the Chancellor's visit not ...

IN THIS ISSUE

...next edition of THE GERMAN ...RIBUNE will appear on 17 July.

... dominated by the missiles issue, ...ugh the Geneva INF talks are sure ... a major item on the agenda of se... ...days of talks.

...is felt to be unfair for the Soviet ...n to behave as though the station... ...f new missiles were a matter of life ...death, of war or peace.

...e Soviet Union, it is argued, has ...tened the Federal Republic of Ger... ...y with its own SS-4 missiles since ...

...t despite this threat relations bet... ...n the two countries have been good. ...pite this threat the Moscow treaties ... signed.

...Herr Kohl is expected to reject the absolute character of Soviet security policy, and he is expecting the Soviet Union to honour his firm stand with a willingness to compromise.

The Chancellor is likely to hold separate talks with Mr Andropov, Prime Minister Tikhonov and Defence Minister Ustinov.

In each case missile experts from both sides will be present, but it is hoped that the missiles issue will not predominate.

Bonn wants to make it clear to the Soviet Union that the security policy measures it feels are right ought not to be made subject to the future of bilateral ties.

Chancellor Kohl's government is keen to maintain good relations.

The negative aspects of bilateral ties include, as the Chancellor sees it, the decline in the number of ethnic Germans to the granted visas to leave the Soviet Union and start life afresh in the Federal Republic of Germany.

This "sad chapter" in bilateral ties, as one German diplomat puts it, will be given a forthright mention by Chancellor Kohl in view of the burden it imposes on ties between Bonn and Moscow.

His predecessors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt preferred not to overemphasise the issue. They tried to solve the problem by means of quiet diplomacy.

In the first six months of 1983 only 594 ethnic Germans have been issued with exit visas by the Soviet authorities. The figure last year was 1,196. Over 100,000 are felt to be still keen to migrate. Neither political nor economic agreements are ready for signing. No communiqué is to be issued at the end of the visit. Negotiating the terms would have been too difficult.

German diplomats and observers in Moscow have carefully noted reports in *Izvestia*, an article in *Moscow News* by a member of the central committee's staff and a report by *Tass* from Bonn.

The basic tenor of these reports and commentaries is gloomy. Chancellor Kohl is said to be associated with "revanchist circles."

Allegations of this kind were levelled at individual Christian Democrats while the CDU was in Opposition in Bonn, but Herr Kohl had not been the subject of such attacks since taking over as Chancellor.

Peter Seidlitz

(Der Tagesspiegel, 25 June 1983)



American Vice-President George Bush (left) with Bonn President Karl Carstens. Mr Bush was in the Federal Republic to take part in 300th anniversary celebrations to mark the first German settlers to arrive in America (Story this page). (Photo: Sven Simon)

Fireside chat

President Reagan (left) and the Governing Mayor of West Berlin, Richard von Weizsäcker, at the White House. The special problems of Berlin and the Geneva disarmament talks were among the topics during von Weizsäcker's four-day visit. (Photo: dpa)

A reflection of German public opinion

Vice-President Bush of America, President Carstens and Chancellor Kohl attended a special ceremony in Krefeld in honour of the 300th anniversary of the first German settlers in America.

Mr Bush was welcomed by 100,000 Krefeld people, 20,000 members of the peace movement demonstrated peacefully against the arms race and 1,000 demonstrators (at most) ran riot.

These figures are probably an accurate reflection of German opinion on ties with the United States and on armaments. The number of militant troublemakers is very small yet they hit the headlines.

This conveys a distorted picture of the situation in the Federal Republic and an inaccurate image of the peace movement, which thus tends to be seen as entirely violent, Communist-run and completely anti-American.

German-American friendship, which the tricentennial celebrations are intended to reaffirm, developed in the special circumstances of the post-war period.

Yet the Western alliance remains the cornerstone on which the Federal Republic's policies are based; and election results emphasise how few people would like to see Bonn pull out of Nato.

The fear of a nuclear arms race is much more widespread. Reaffirmation of German-American friendship, as in Krefeld, would be misunderstood if it were taken to mean automatic approval of arms policies of any kind.

Bonn may abide by its Nato commit-

Continued on page 2

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Euro missiles: would a plebiscite help?

A Constitutional Court judge, Helmut Simon, has suggested that a referendum be held on the issue of whether missiles should be stationed in Germany. His suggestion was aimed at helping to relax domestic political tension.

What is the point of a referendum? *Judge Simon's proposal is for a consultative referendum, which by definition would not be binding on the Bundestag.*

If it were held, either the Bundestag or a sufficiently large number of people (the crucial factor in any legal arrangement) could insist on a referendum before any specific major political decision was taken.

But the result of the referendum would merely serve as a basis for further discusion and not be binding on bodies constitutionally entrusted with the task of reaching final decisions.

Yet the closer one scrutinises the idea of a consultative referendum to offset the lack of provisions for a plebiscite in Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, the more heavily the counter-arguments seem to weigh.

A merely consultative referendum would run the risk of making the gap in political legitimation that was to be bridged even wider.

What, for instance, if the referendum were to go against stationing the new missiles in Germany but *the government and the Bundestag were to give it the go-ahead, which they would still be entitled to do?*

It would be an unenviable choice. Either the will of the people would be disregarded or it would have to be admitted that the leeway allegedly to be retained by constitutional organs had become a sheer farce.

What issues would be liable to be dealt with in a referendum: whether foreign residents should be allowed to stay in Germany, for instance?

What if the people were to be asked two different questions simultaneously that had been demagogically reduced to a seemingly simple alternative?

This is not even to mention the fact that opinion polls can establish exactly what views the public hold on a given issue as it is.

Helmut Simon is a staunch supporter of constitutional freedom. Only someone who did not know him could possibly imagine he was unaware of all these problems.

He himself admits that his proposal is a makeshift solution, so those who dislike it will at least appreciate that even Judge Simon realises it is far from perfect.

Limits are everywhere in evidence: in security policy, atomic energy, ecology as a whole, scarce resources, genetic engineering and so on.

They cannot be overstepped without letting chaos loose. Trial and error as the path to progress are no longer appropriate. Even a single error could be the last.

So it seems reasonable to ask whether there might not be issues on which a majority cannot be in favour today and against tomorrow.

That is why some people, including another judge, feel the missiles debate is not a political issue. It is, they argue, a matter of life and death.

Even though this argument elevates a partial aspect of security policy to the level of the absolute without due cause the idea fairly underlines the finite nature of political processes.

The problem is that this realisation of constitutional limits can lead to diametrically opposite conclusions.

While one may argue that the majority mechanism breaks down on certain issues it is also true that in the final analysis all political issues amount to a choice between yes and no, between majority and minority.

Even if Helmut Simon were right in saying that the death penalty is another issue on which a political vote is impossible *he would have to admit that it was* abolished by a political vote.

It follows that in situations in which majority decisions are extremely controversial the majority and minority are even more heavily committed to mediate and to reach an understanding.

There must be neither a high-handed use of the majority position nor an arbitrary decision to pull out of the constitutional set-up.

When a majority vote is imminent that is going to make heavy demands on the minority because it is of such fundamental significance the majority is duty-bound to state its case and be ready to discuss matters.

This is the time for the full extent of debate that justifies democracy over and above its formal procedures. The majority never rules; it merely governs.

That, perhaps, is the main point Helmut Simon has sought to make with his dubious proposal for a referendum. If it is, it is a valid one.

Robert Leicht

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 June 1983)

Continued from page 1

ments and agree if need be to the stationing of new US missiles in Germany, but it will do so solely because it realises it has to. The aim is still to end the arms race.

The German government must continue to stress the need for results at Geneva. Friendship with America need hardly suffer from constant reminders that this must be the target.

Ralf Lehmann

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 1983)

Expenditure on armame[nts] 'just keeps growing'

Between 1979 and 1982 world arms expenditure increased by 4 per cent a year, twice the rate of the previous four years.

That is one of the findings of the 14th survey of arms and disarmament published by the International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Stockholm.

The 1983 report expects no immediate results at the main Geneva disarmament talks on intermediate nuclear forces and strategic arms reduction.

It is a report that will not disappoint the pessimists. Its findings do not support any hopes of making peace with fewer weapons. On the contrary.

Military spending is said to have increased by leaps and bounds. So have the development and production of new weapons, the arms trade and the development of sea and space as theatres for the next war.

As for positive developments in arms control and disarmament, the SIPRI findings are short and anything but sweet: there have been none.

Even a rough and ready look at the facts ought to make advocates of security policy along mainly military lines think twice.

Between 1979 and 1982 arms expenditure increased by four per cent per annum, or roughly twice as fast as during the previous four years.

SIPRI estimates total arms spending in 1982 to have amounted to between $700bn and $750bn. The international arms trade is still booming, having achieved a growth rate of 80 per cent since 1978.

In 1982 the United States carried out 17 nuclear tests, the largest series since 1970, while the Soviet Union's 31 nuclear tests were the largest number in any one year since 1963.

British and French arms programmes, if they go ahead according to plan, are likely to increase the number of Anglo-French missile warheads aimed at targets in the Soviet Union from 386 to roughly 2,000 over the next 15 years.

The head of SIPRI, Frank Blackaby, urgently notes the problems the British and French systems create fo[r the Ge]neva talks.

The Soviet Union demand[s their in]clusion in any agreement, b[ut Britain] and France strongly disagree.

"In relation to the balance [of forces] between East and West," he [says, the] arguments for excluding the[se systems] are weak.

"It is merely playing with [words to] say they are national, strategic [systems.] So are the SS-20s and the p[er]shings and Cruise missiles.

"Britain and France are [labouring] under a delusion if they im[agine they] can increase the number of [war]heads aimed at targets i[n the USSR] without prompting a reaction [from the So]viet Union."

The SIPRI authors are not [expecting] any immediate outcome at th[e im]portant current Geneva dis[armament] talks on INF, (intermediate n[uclear for]ces), and Start, (strategic ar[ms reduc]tion).

They blame political th[inking in] terms of balance-of-power b[ut say] there is no justification i[n such] terms.

They say the Start talks w[ill take a] long time, whereas any oppo[rtunity of] success at the INF talks will b[e] missed once missile modern[isation is] under way.

The stationing of large nu[mbers of] new US missiles in Western [Europe] "will mark a new stage in co[nfrontation] between Nato and the Warsaw [Pact."]

SIPRI expects some progr[ess to be] accomplished by the pressure [exerted] on governments by the pea[ce move]ment. Politicians are having [to keep] public opinion in mind more [than] before.

But the public will need to [be com]prehensively informed and, as [the auth]ors of the SIPRI Yearbook s[ay,] they have come up time a[nd again] against the limits of official s[ecrecy.]

An increasing number of G[ermans] interested in the subject will no[t be] in a position to read the detaile[d infor]mation listed in the yearbook.

Once again no German publ[isher has] felt able to run the risk of p[ublishing a] German edition of this 700-pa[ge com]pendium.

The Bonn government could [arrange] for a translation with the assi[stance of] the Federal Political Education [Office] but Bonn is unlikely to want the [issue] to grow even more sensitive [an] issue.

Karl-Heinz Har[...]

(Deutsches Allgemeines S[onntagsblatt, ...])

Polish officials breathe easy again as the Pope departs

Top-ranking officials of the Communist regime in Warsaw must have breathed a sigh of relief when the Pope reached the end of his visit to Poland and flew back to Rome.

This relief may well have been shared by Western politicians who feared that in the wake of the Pope's visit uncontrollable mass reactions might prompt harsh counter-measures by the Polish security forces.

In Nova Huta tens of thousands of Poles demonstrated in support of the banned Solidarity trade union while the notorious security police looked on in unaccustomed idleness.

Any dramatic development in this connection would have strengthened the hand of opponents of the Papal visit among doctrinaire Party officials and weakened that of General Jaruzelski and Communist reformers led by Vice-Premier Rakowski.

The visit gave millions of Poles an opportunity of demonstrating to the world at large their religious convictions (political too, under an atheist regime).

They were the Papal "divisions" about which Stalin sarcastically inquired, and Polish Communists will have their work cut out counteracting the effect of the Pope's sermons.

Moscow has been tellingly tight-lipped about the entire business so far.

Yet the visit upgraded the Polish military regime, which was previously internationally isolated, and General Jaruzelski personally too.

His invitation to the Pope was a courageous and daring decision that could yet play a part in defusing Poland's domestic contradictions even though the dialogue might initially be limited to Party and Church.

This being so, an easing of Western sanctions could strengthen the position of Polish moderates.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 24 June 1983)

The German Tribune

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HOME AFFAIRS

Plain speaking on issue of Germany

[Ch]ancellor Helmut Kohl's Bonn go[v]ernment is not so worried about [hurtin]g the feeling of the German De[mocra]tic Republic as was the former [Schm]idt team.

[Koh]l's government is intent on maintain[in]g a policy of encouraging talks [and r]econciliation. But it is less inclined [to min]ce words about the problems.

[Whe]n Chancellor Kohl made his [state-]of-the-nation address in the Bun[destag] at the end of June, the speech [was gi]ven its full original title: Report [on the] State of the Nation in Divided [Germ]any.

[This] restores the latter part of the title [which] had been dropped during the [...]

[Dur]ing Kohl's speech and subse[quent] speeches by Alfred Dregger, lea[der o]f the CDU/CSU parliamentary [group], and Intra-German Affairs Minis[ter H]einrich Windelen, greater empha[sis w]as put on the problems of a divid[ed] Germany than other governments [have] done.

[Th]ey emphasised the idea of a na[tional] unity, particularly in the Euro[pean] context. Once again, a German [Cha]ncellor openly expressed the com[mitm]ent of the German Basic Law to [reu]nification.

[T]here was an unvarnished descrip[tion] of the German realities of the Ber[lin W]all, barbed wire and the order to [shoot] on the border between East and [West] Germany, and the expatriation of German citizens.

[H]owever, such clearly pitched com[ment]s do not weaken the willingness of [the] Bonn government to cooperate with the GDR in the interests of peace. A policy of seeking dialogue and reconciliation will be continued.

The deterioration of the political climate following the deaths on the German-German border and the cancellation of the visit to West Germany by East German leader, Erich Honecker, have not adversely affected the interest shown by the GDR in maintaining discussions with the Federal Republic.

Even the emotional discussion on the missiles deployment issue cannot change this fact.

Soon after Honecker had turned down the invitation to visit the Federal Republic, he stated that the visit has only been postponed.

The GDR economics official, Günter Mittag, virtually said the same thing during talks in Bonn.

The head of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, Alfred Dregger, remarked that he was most impressed by the talks with Mittag. Dregger will probably soon visit East Germany.

The GDR is primarily hoping for economic and financial benefits in its dealing with the Federal Republic.

Under the symbolic umbrella of unity (disputed by the GDR), the GDR benefits from EEC's customs concessions.

Prospects for cooperation have not worsened since the change in Bonn. The current plain speaking only means that false hopes are not raised.

But over the next few years efforts by Bonn to steady its own budget will mean that East Berlin will not be able to expect too much, certainly no expensive transport schemes.

Kohl pointed out that inner-German trade went up by 13 per cent last year and the government wants to increase that. There is also interest in cooperation in energy and ecology policies.

Travelling difficulties and obligatory currency exchange for visitors to the GDR remain big problems.

Hans Jörg Sottorf

(Handelsblatt, 24 June 1983)

Minister's remark changes Kohl's debate plans

It looks as if Bonn's Minister for Youth, Family Affairs and Health, Heiner Geissler, messed up Chancellor Kohl's original plan for delivering the state-of-the-nation address in the Bundestag.

The thoughtless and historically untenable remark by Geissler that pacifism during the 1930s can be claimed to be responsible for the fact that such a thing as mass murder could occur in Auschwitz meant that Chancellor Kohl was forced to change his programme.

He was hoping to show Parliament and the public what his *Deutschlandpolitik* would look like during his period in office as Chancellor.

However, the Opposition took advantage of Geissler's faux pas and redirected a great deal of the content and style of the subsequent debate on the state-of-the-nation speech.

It was clear right from the start that the SPD's demand for Geissler's dismissal as Minister had no chance of being successful. The Free Democrats were not interested in leaving Geissler standing out in the cold when it came to the final vote.

The only FDP Bundestag member to abstain was Hildegard Hamm-Brücher.

Nevertheless, Opposition leader Hans-Jochen Vogel and his team did score other successes during the debate.

They managed to get the discussion on Geissler's slip-up onto the agenda during the best TV-viewing time.

They forced the Chancellor to make his way to the rostrum a second time just after he had sat down after making his policy speech. He was obliged to protect and support his Minister, who was under fire from almost all sides.

Kohl could not conceal the fact that the regarded the dispute as a nuisance.

Indirectly get clearly he criticised the apparent ability of his party colleague and personal friend to lose his self-control too often. His ill-considered remarks have frequently been the root of difficulties for his own political camp.

In the Chancellor's own words, Geissler is a "man with strengths of character who can at times be difficult".

During the debate, Kohl practised something other Christian Democrats would have liked to have seen Geissler do himself: apologise for a faux pas.

Annoyed by continued heckling by the Social Democrats, Chancellor Kohl remarked that the SPD were apparently finding it difficult to actually "live democracy". He took back this statement a few sentences later.

The parliamentary quarrel over Geissler proved yet again how difficult Germans find coming to terms with the past.

There was a similar incident in 1970, when the CDU/CSU, then in Opposition, demanded the dismissal of Minister Alex Möller for accusing the Christian Democrats of being closer to the right-wing groups who supported Hitler at the end of the Weimar Republic than to the Social Democrats.

Although more carefully worded this time, there were similar implications during the state-of-the-nation debate this year.

Hans-Jochen Vogel: "I don't wish to associate Heiner Geissler and your party with neo-Nazi activities, but ...".

Or Parliamentary Secretary Fischer from the Greens: "Did Hitler come to power with the help of foreign countries, or wasn't it more a case of support from your German National predecessors, the Hugenbergs and Papens, the Krupps and the Flicks?"

Such comments were, of course, bound to lead to emotional scenes.

The Chancellor retorted: "We have no need to prove that we know what democratic and anti-Nazi attitudes mean", or "neither the chairman of the CDU nor the general secretary of this party need prove this to anyone. Their own life histories speak for themselves."

In the end, Geissler did back down the way he should have done a week ago.

The Minister admitted that he should have rounded off his remarks by adding that racial hatred and National Socialism were really to blame for Auschwitz.

Geissler went even further. In his opinion, it would have been better not to have mentioned Auschwitz at all. Instead, he should have said that the pacifist mood prevalent in western democracies during the 30s made the "war" possible in the first place.

Too late. The term "Auschwitz" has now become a part of the current political discussion in Germany.

The unfortunate thing is that Geissler didn't use the expression first. He was only referring to a statement made by the Greens in an interview when he made his remark.

The Greens regard the coming deployment of Nato missiles as a possible "nuclear Auschwitz".

This virtually puts Nato defence policy on the same level as the Nazi war crimes.

Gisbert Kuhn

(Kieler Nachrichten, 24 June 1983)

Euro policies spark clash in Bundestag

[Th]e German presidency of the EEC [w]as a "presidency of lost opportu[nities]", according to an SPD member of [the B]undestag.

[Vo]lker Hauff, said in a debate on the [Stutt]gart European summit, that the [policy] of agriculture in the EEC was a [scan]dal.

[Th]e fact that two thirds of Communi[ty fu]nds were channelled into agricultu[re w]as unacceptable.

[W]hat is happening on the agricultu[ral m]arket is absurd ... It's time to put [an en]d to this kind of policy."

[Th]e German presidency of the EEC [had] been a good opportunity to do [some]thing about it. But it had failed.

[Ha]uff, a former transport minister, [said] the summit itself was "a meagre [perf]ormance." The only positive thing [was t]hat it did not end with a quarrel.

[It] might have helped, he said, if [Chan]cellor Kohl had begun his prepa[ratio]ns earlier.

[Ch]ancellor Kohl said the summit had [pro]vided specific ideas for the develop[men]t of the Community.

[D]uring his opening speech, he antici[pated] the criticism. He emphasised how [unrea]listic it was to expect instant re[sults] at such a meeting.

[W]estern Europe had economically [and] politically drifted into more troubl[ed w]aters.

During such times, national inte[rests] emerge more strongly and clash [mor]e sharply" he said. "The cushion of [pros]perity has become thinner. Such a [situ]ation demands greater and more deliberate efforts towards European solidarity.

"In Stuttgart we made the decisions which could be expected of us at this time."

In Kohl's opinion, it is most unrealistic to expect such a summit meeting to solve the problems of future Community financing, budgetary discipline, and the adjustment of the Common Agricultural Policy "for all ten summit nations at the same time and once and for all".

The Council has set deadlines and it is hoped that the desired results will be obtained soon.

The Stuttgart "package deal" takes into account the German desire for a more limited budgetary dynamics, financial cutbacks and restructuring.

Future negotiations on this point are likely to be difficult, said the Chancellor. There are only then chances of success if such negotiations are carried out in a mood of mutual trust and a spirit of solidarity.

Kohl described the following as successes during the German presidency: the reform of the social fund, improvement of goods traffic, and the completion of work on the guideline programme for research between 1984 and 1987.

"In the field of ecology, we have given some impetus. I sent a memorandum on the problem of the dying forests to the heads of state and government leaders before the summit in Stuttgart."

Hauff commented that the only positive thing about Stuttgart was the fact that the meeting did not end with a quarrel.

"But that is not enough to oversome the resignation and weariness with regard to Europe."

Petra Kelly, of the Greens, sharply criticised Bonn's policy towards Europe.

The question must be asked whether the "ceremonial declaration" agreed on in Stuttgart is not the work of cynics in the face of the existing waste of raw materials, unemployment and major projects.

The FDP objected to the Opposition's "belly-aching".

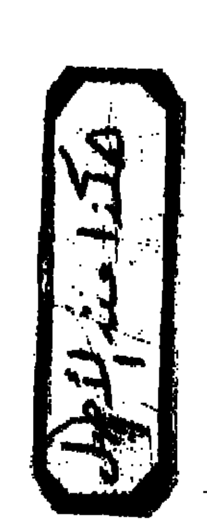
Carl Otto Lenz, speaking for the joint CDU/CSU parliamentary group, praised the way the Chancellor conducted the negotiations in Stuttgart.

However, he did add: "We ought not rest on the laurels of Stuttgart."

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that the criticism by the SPD should be levelled against the Socialist Internationale. In those countries where its members are in government they exert a negative influence on Europe.

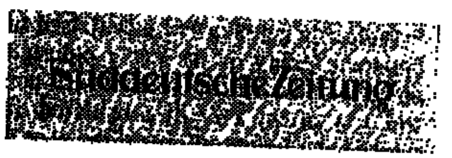
Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, 23 June 1983)



■ PEOPLE

Vogel's first term in charge: there's no one else in sight



Hans-Jochen Vogel, the leader of the SPD parliamentary party in the Bundestag since 8 March, has avoided making any serious mistakes during his first 100 days as Opposition leader.

"I expected to come up against big, very big problems ...", Vogel admits. "In terms of those expectations, things have gone pretty well."

Although Vogel's appraisal of his own performance since his party's general election defeat sounds rather restrained, there is no trace of faintheartedness.

Just one week before the Bundestag's summer recess, Vogel feels that he has done a good job and has "kept the outfit together". This is more than many pessimists had predicted.

The Social Democratic Party, which lost a great deal of support during the March elections, is still in the process of waking up to new political realities. After 16 years in government, the new role of Opposition party takes some getting used to.

Even leading politicians in the party's parliamentary group are still adjusting. The general mood within the party is still a mixture of praise, criticism, resignation and enthusiasm.

Vogel remains through it all a rock of stability. Is he the SPD's one-man band?

Vogel is aware of the complicated and jumbled-up situation in his party, but he is not too keen to call a spade a spade.

Some of his party colleagues, who wish to remain nameless, criticise his style of leadership or complain about his political vision.

Others are equally vehement in their enthusiasm and support for his style and mannerisms.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of Vogel's popularity within his own party.

Remarks made by two of the party's top-level politicians prove the point. One refers to the "very good mood" within the party, whereas the other states that the SPD's parliamentary group is "about to explode".

The truth of the matter is that there is at present no alternative in the SPD to Hans-Jochen Vogel, whose predecessor as parliamentary party leader was the "old man" of German politics, Herbert Wehner.

This is why criticism is being toned down and praise is being given freely.

When asked to give a rundown of his "acid text", Vogel referred to the fact that during his period as Opposition leader in Berlin's House of Representatives he only had 50 politicians to lead. In the Bundestag there are 201.

It's certainly not easy to carry on where Herbert Wehner left off.

After all, four fifths of the Social Democrats in the Bundestag have never experienced what it is like to be in an Opposition party.

After being ousted from government, there was a great danger that the party would wallow in self-criticism and even start tearing itself apart.

Vogel sees himself as in the main a man of the executive. In the face of the post-election uncertainties, he has focussed more attention on getting to grips with the party's organisational structures than many believe necessary.

Against substantial opposition, centred around Hans Apel, he pushed through an organisation model which tailored the party's political leadership to his own person and eight deputies. These eight shadow ministers are responsible for the parliamentary party's political activities.

In addition, there are five parliamentary secretaries. Together with the eight shadow ministers and Vogel himself, they form the parliamentary party executive, the Opposition real decision-making body.

Many party colleagues refer to this mode of organisation as "departmental administration", a play on the Vogel's Berlin days. In Berlin, he was accustomed to having a party apparatus beneath him, rather than having to come to terms with men and women of an equal parliamentary status.

The pressure to conform to his hierarchical set-up seems to be one of the major internal problems in the SPD parliamentary party, although Vogel's intention is not to suppress originality.

Among the circle of Vogel's closest colleagues, there is a down-to-earth assessment of the new leadership structure: "We can react much faster politically than we used to; we can recognise internal conflicts and solve them much earlier."

However, the centralist structure does run the risk of allowing only the eight top politicians to get publicity, whereas the non-prominent members of the party find it more difficult to gain attention.

Many feel that the flexibility shown by Vogel on this point will decide on Vogel's success in the long run.

"The man is used to monocratic

‘It looks as thought chance is the thing he is most frightened of’

structures; now, he's surrounded by people who have gathered their own political experience ... He should perhaps show greater confidence in their abilities. This will make or break him in the long run."

Vogel is a punctuality fanatic, a workaholic and an ardent letter-writer. He prefers to jot down notes rather than rely on his memory.

Although he has a committal way about him, he is mainly concerned about the issues at stake.

In a nutshell, Vogel is no easy boss. His fellow Social Democrats have got used to this, even though they still moan and groan as they always have done.

Vogel is convinced that bureaucratic organisation is a means of making more controllable a political structure which is difficult to control.

Horst Ehmke, one of Vogel's eight deputies, and a man who brims over with self-confidence, is "quite satisfied" with the system of organisation. In his words, Vogel is doing a "pretty good job politically", which is praise indeed from the otherwise restrained Ehmke. As Ehmke points out, anyone who wants to convince him (Ehmke) of the necessity of a particular political move must be willing to discuss it openly. Many see Ehmke as Vogel's right-hand man, although officially there is no such thing. Are the majority of Social Democrats in the Bundestag as satisfied with Vogel as Ehmke is? There are of course various groupings. The former strong arm of the parliamentary party, the so-called *Kanalarbeiter* group, still exists but has become weaker.



Across the big divide ... Hans-Jochen Vogel (left) [...] cellor Kohl.

Ever since the personnel struggles have become less important, and as Herta Däubler-Gmelin remarks "more time is spend talking about issues rather than personalities", the internal formation of party opinion moves along new lines.

The right-wing and the left-wing seem to have become weaker, the "centre" appears to gained in strength. The influence of Hans Apel, as intellectual spokesman for a centre-right movement, should not be underestimated here.

There are irreconcilabilities on both sides.

Herta Däubler-Gmelin (left-wing): "Apel? Yes, a definitely pleasant character."

Gerhard Schröder, another party left-winger, also had nothing critical to say about Hans-Jochen Vogel: "I really like his style".

In Schröder's opinion, the way the party discussed the missile deployment issue was a prime example of this new style. Vogel gives "other opinions a fair chance", "doesn't steamroller his opponents", "handles opposition very well", "shows a clear political intention". Schröder feels that Vogel should "keep to his present style".

And as if this weren't enough praise, Schröder advises him not to "take the vanities of his subleaders into consideration".

Although prestige plays a part in the different assessments of Vogel by his colleagues in the parliamentary party, the motives are also connected with the differing opinions on issues.

Many party colleagues who object to Vogel's political style are really objecting to the political course he is taking.

It could be described as a "course of integration", once a stumbling-block for party chairman Willy Brandt, and felt by many to have too much of a leaning to the left. In fact, some feel that Vogel is leading the party towards a (left-wing) fringe area lad[...] ideas.

The internal dispute abo[...] which tries to describe the S[...] tionship to the peace move[...] sign of this conflict, which [...] been covered up by Vogel's [...] nant position.

Together with the immed[...] ve of "keeping the outf[...] Vogel is hoping to establi[...] image for the SPD of the m[...] tent party in Opposition.

This accounts for the hec[...] which motions, Parliamentary [...] and draft bills have been int[...] the Bundestag.

Busy-beavering by the SPD [...] the other Opposition party, th[...] standing in the wings.

However, there is still a gre[...] uncertainty as the what is goin[...] pen next year, after the "de[...] year 1983" is over.

Many talk of the elaboratio[...] dern economic and social co[...] help many of the unions ou[...] structural crisis.

At the moment, there is no th[...] seeking new parliamentary all[...] Grand Coalition is only con[...] times of crisis.

Next year, Vogel will be tak[...] the deputy chairmanship of th[...] from Helmut Schmidt. This wi[...] wever, strengthen his position.

In his reply to Chancellor [...] policy speech on 4 May, Vogel [...] assurance that the SPD was no[...] return to government solely as th[...] of any catastrophe.

"We are going to practice opp[...] not obstruction", he said.

Vogel is probably hoping th[...] cooperation with his own parlia[...] group will be equally constructiv[...]

With an eye to the fact that [...] party member is bothered by hi[...] reaucratic" approach and insis[...] order and form he says: "Org[...] does not prevent creativity, it p[...] chance developments."

And it looks as though chan[...] thing Hans-Jochen Vogel is fr[...] of most.

Martin E. S[...]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2[...])

THE EEC

Leaders cobble together a massive all-or-nothing package deal

[C]ommon Market leaders have put together the biggest package of [pro]blems the European Community has had to handle.

[Th]e package was put together at the [Stutt]gart summit. Several parts are in[...]ed.

[Ea]ch part now depends on the whole, [inclu]ding the DM1.7bn rebate on Bri[tain's] contribution to the 1983 EEC [budg]et.

[If] agreement is not reached on the [...]e package by December, the dead[line] for the 1984 budget, Britain's rebute [will] probably need to be shelved too.

[Li]nkage also exists between ratifica[tion] of the new EEC financial frame[wor]k and ratification of membership [...]s for Spain and Portugal.

[Bo]th are to be submitted simultan[eou]sly to national parliaments. EEC [lead]ers were confident in Stuttgart that [this] would be the case by mid-1984.

[T]he five problems tied up in a single [pa]ckage in Stuttgart were:

- the future of the European Com[m]unity's finances;
- the development of Community [po]licies;
- issues related to expansion of the [Co]mmon Market;
- "special problems of a number of [me]mber-states in the budgetary sector," [w]hich means the fact that Britain and [G]ermany pay much more into the EEC [...]ty than they get back; and
- the economy package, or as the [co]mmuniqué put it, "the need for stric[te]r budgetary discipline."

The order in which they are listed is [co]incidental and in no way indicative of [pr]iorities. The Stuttgart communiqué [ca]n hardly be said to specify details to [th]e Council of Ministers.

The targets are listed. How they are [to] be achieved is left to be seen. It will [no]t be up to the European Commission [in] Brussels to get to work on them.

It has been instructed to draft two [pr]oposals by the beginning of August [wh]en the EEC's summer recess starts). One is to deal with a reform of the [Co]mmon Agricultural Policy, the other [wi]th possible changes to the regional [an]d social fund and structural aid to [agr]iculture.

[S]o Greece, as chairman of the Com[mo]n Market in the second half of 1983, [is] unlikely to be able to hold the first [spe]cial session of the Council of Minis[ter]s before the recess.

The main objective of reforms as en[vis]aged in the summit communiqué is [o]n the one hand to modernise existing [po]licies and make them more effective [an]d to lay down priority sectors for fur[the]r moves by the Community while on [the] other hand ensuring that policies [are] carried out at no further cost and [sa]ve money wherever possible."

On the individual parts of the pack[age] the communiqué has this to say:

- Future finances: The extent and [tim]ing of Community fund require[me]nts are to be ascertained on the basis [of] results yet to be accomplished (new [po]licies, budgetary discipline etc.).

In other words, the increase in VAT [re]mittances to Brussels on which the [C]ommission is so keen will be the last [ite]m on the agenda.

A number of Common Market coun[tr]ies would have been prepared to increase their contributions to the EEC immediately.

The main opponents were Britain and Germany, although both were persuaded to indicate that they would be prepared to go ahead with any increase in VAT revenue on which the Ten might agree.

- Development of Community policies: This must be taken to mean both the improvement of existing policies and agreement on new ones.

The Stuttgart summit resolved to promote further EEC activities in research, innovation and new technologies. The heads of government for one felt collaboration would cut out duplication.

By ending duplication in research work governments would be making a contribution to more effective use of public money.

They would also be helping to improve the competitiveness of European companies, as for instance by means of the Esprit programme (short for European Special Programme for Research and Development in Information Technology).

In response to a special request by both Germany and France the following passage was included in the Stuttgart communiqué:

"Environmental protection, employment opportunities, especially for the young, and welfare policies are to be given equal priority."

No mention was made of anything more specific.

- Issues related to Common Market expansion: This mainly means protection of farmers in Italy, southern France and Greece once Spain and Portugal join the EEC.

The amount of Mediterranean products marketed within the EEC will increase dramatically once Spain and Portugal join.

Farmers are worried prices might plummet and clamour for price guarantees similar to those available for agricultural produce further north, such as milk and wheat.

Here too the summit communiqué does not go into details.

- The contribution problems of Britain and Germany: The aim, in summitese, is "to arrive at measures that on balance prevent the constantly recurring problems between member-countries on the financial repercussions of the Community budget and its financing."

Several strategies are under consideration. The EEC budget will need to be rejigged in such a way to ensure that two thirds does not go on the Common Agricultural policy.

Britain derives very little benefit from the existing system because it exports very little farm produce and imports a great deal.

Another approach would be to graduate the funds remitted by individual countries to Brussels in accordance with "objective criteria," such as GNP or agricultural output.

There must definitely be no more annual debates on the amount Britain is to be reimbursed and how much Germany is to contribute toward the rebate.

- Stricter budgetary discipline: The main sector in which discipline needs enforcing is agriculture.

Common Market leaders are agreed that the fundamental principles of agricultural policy ought to be retained, but they would like to see effective control of agricultural spending.

No specific reference was made to a reduction. All that was said in the communiqué was that: "All member-countries must make their contribution toward the savings that need to be effected."

Views differ on how the Common Agricultural Policy can be changed. On this point the debate is evidently back to square one.

Germany would very much like to amend price policies, guarantees for individual products or make producers partly responsible.

In other words, farmers would have to foot part of the bill for surplus production.

The French favour a different approach. They note that the market prospects for European fodder grain are hit by high imports of soya products from overseas.

So they would like to see import restrictions imposed on soybean products, which would be sure to rouse America's ire.

These examples indicate hat there are a number of ways in which the Common Agricultural Policy could be amended. The summit communiqué lists them but does not state a preference.

Not just agriculture

The EEC heads of government did not limit their appeal for economies to the agricultural sector.

Over the next six months all existing policies will be checked for duplication. They specifically include the regional and social funds, for instance.

By the year's end the European Audit Office will also have reviewed expenditure in Brussels for budget economy.

The European Community set itself ambitious targets in Stuttgart, but they are worded in such vague terms that the Council of Ministers and the EEC Commission in Brussels now face the problem of getting down to details.

Ulrich Lüke

(Die Welt, 21 June 1983)

American bid to get farm subsidies cut

America wants the EEC to change its agriculture policies so farmers are not given incentives to produce surpluses.

Washington feels increasingly subjected to what it sees as unfair EEC competition in world markets for farm produce.

The Common Market system of ensuring farmers earn reasonable incomes by guaranteeing to buy major products such as milk and wheat at artificially high prices that are increased annually has made Europe self-supporting in many sectors.

It has also led to constantly growing surpluses that can only be sold in world markets by being subsidised to the hilt.

The United States says this turns world market prices upside down and increasingly forces American producers out of traditional markets.

It is easy to see why the Americans are annoyed: there are mountains of foodgrain and lakes of wine stockpiled in the EEC; cut-price butter is sold to the Soviet Union and cut-price poultry to the Middle East.

The United States has called on the European Community to rejig its agricultural policy in such a way that social seccurity is provided for farmers but without giving an incentive to produce farm surpluses.

The Americans are not interested in what the Common Market does internally and what it costs EEC taxpayers, but they are keenly interested in what the European Community gets up to in world markets.

If only there were no sales guarantees, they say, supply and demand would regulate the market and strike a relative balance, with the least expensive producer invariably prevailing in a free market.

This sounds fine and in theory is absolutely right. Common Market consumers would certainly be able to buy food much cheaper than at present, probably at prices as low as they always have been for consumers in the United States.

But the equation only works when agriculture is viewed solely in economic terms. In Europe there are sound reasons for bearing sociological, political and ecological aspects in mind too.

The structure of European agriculture is anything but satisfactory. In the United States only 2.7 per cent of the population earn their living from farming. In the Common Market the average is 13 per cent or so.

In southern regions of the EEC in particular there are still far too many smallholdings that are not going to survive in the long run.

This structure, which has taken shape over the centuries, is in need of revision, but it must not be done at the stroke of a pen.

Care must be taken to develop rural areas economically and industrially in such a way as to ensure that ex-farmers are not uprooted and are assured of social safeguards.

The aim cannot, as Europe sees it, be to arrive at farming areas of US proportions.

In America there are extensive areas where agro-industry tolerates neither a bush nor a tree in between fields, where there is nowhere a bird can nest and it is hardly worth while taking a walk.

The overriding consideration is to cut production costs and everything is subordinated to this principle.

Keeping a varied countryside and pretty villages that are worth living in can only be done at a price, and in the final analysis it is sure to mean that farming will be more expensive in Europe than in America, where industrial methods are preferred.

Within reasons Europe ought to be prepared to pay the price. In return it will retain a living environment of ines-

Continued on page 8

■ THE ECONOMY

Interest rates over-rated as a recovery killer

On 17 March the Bundesbank announced that it had reduced the key lending rate by a princely figure of one per cent in an effort to stimulate the economy. The President of Germany's central bank, Karl Otto Pöhl, felt that he had gone to "the limit of that which is acceptable" in making this move.

On the same day, however, the interest rates for mortgages, which had been declining for months, suddenly began to rise once more.

The coincidence of both events made it look as if the basics of economic theory had gone haywire.

Last week, the head of the German Mortgage Association, Hans Günther Schönemann, referred to a "Frankenstein on the capital market" when speaking of the latest federal loan. At eight-and-three-quarter per cent it seemed to indicate that the downward trend for interest rates is changing direction.

Talking to mortgage bankers last week, Herr Pöhl admitted that he no longer knows what is happening. As one earwitness quotes, Germany's top monetary official pointed out that there are three possibilities: either the interest rate will rise, or it will fall, or it will stay where it is.

It is very difficult to fathom out the reasons why mortgage societies are not towing the general interest-rate line.

They viewed Pöhl's generous gesture as the delayed confirmation of an interest rate reduction which already existed on the capital market. In their opinion, there is no chance of a further drop in interest rates in the immediate future.

Increases all round

For this reason, they have loaded higher annuities onto their house-builders.

However, those wishing to build and own their own homes are not the only ones hit by the unexpected turnabout on the capital market. Short-term loans will also cost more. The Federal Republic is in the process of being bowled over by a new wave of interest rate increases.

The treasurers in Bonn, consistently forced to borrow on account of the gaps in the budget, were the first to show the way.

In an effort to keep the solvent citizens and enterprises happy and motivate them to hand over their money, the government borrowers have increased their interest rates for savings bonds, Federal treasury bonds and other finance bonds. The lowest rate is now almost six per cent, and other credit lenders will soon be forced to follow suit.

Investors were pleased, economic experts pessimistic. As Pöhl told his banking colleagues, the turnabout in interest rates has got him worried.

He is worried that this new upward trend for interest rates may well dampen the emerging general mood of optimism in the economy.

As Pöhl pointed out: "After all, the drop in interest rates was one of the pillars of the gradually discernible economic upswing."

The head of the Bundesbank could do nothing but stand by and watch as the pillar began to crumble.

In a mood of resignation, Pöhl emphasised: "Once again, it has become clear how closely linked our interest rate is to that of the US dollar."

The borrowing of dollars has just become more expensive, — the most serious result of the unsuccessful economic summit in Williamsburg.

Originally, the heads of government had quite the reverse in mind. They were hoping to be able to persuade President Reagan to adopt a course of interest-rate reduction.

Reagan's guests in Williamsburg could have saved themselves the journey. There was no way the President was going to cut down the huge budgetary deficit of $200bn.

However, all those at the conference (with the exception of the Americans, of course) realised that if this figure is not reduced there will be no reduction in the dollar interest rates.

Washington's "never-never" approach is a signal to the banks and stock exchanges that the government still needs more money — hence, the high interest rates.

The current yield for capital investors in the United States is about 11 per cent. As Pöhl pointed out, many fat-walleted German businessmen find it hard to resist this kind of temptation.

Top-level failure in Williamsburg meant that there was only one thing Germany could do: increase interest rates. And this is exactly what is happening at the moment.

Politicians, economic experts and monetary officials, who were still in middle of their upswing build-up, were stunned by this hard fact of life.

There was no hiding the pessimism which has now replaced the exaggerated optimism shown earlier on in the year.

Even the German Minister for Economic Affairs, Count Otto Lambsdorff, couldn't offer any pick-me-ups. During the debate in the Bundestag on the government's annual economic report, he expressed his fears that the latest interest-rate development may well endanger growth prospects.

Opposition politicians, Hans-Jochen Vogel and Manfred Lahnstein, all too readily took the opportunity to gloatingly lament that Chancellor Kohl may not create the upswing after all.

Complaints by politicians are superfluous. In reality, the interest rate is only marginally significant for economic development.

Rising interest rates cannot throttle the boom, just as a reduction in interest rates is unable to force an economic upswing.

According to economic theory, cheap borrowing stimulates the economy as it induces consumers to buy on credit, and firms are able to finance new investments more easily. None of this is true in practice.

Factory installations are so under-utilised at the moment that a growing demand could quite easily be catered for via existing capacities.

Even if the interest rates were extremely low, businesses have no reason at present to expand.

The renewal of depreciated equipment is planned by industry many years in advance. Interest-rate movements do not exert that great an influence on such plans.

When it comes to plant construction, most firms don't bother to invest if the only way to do so is via favourable financing.

On the other hand, if a firm has a new product, it will invest in market launching come what may.

Burkhard Müller-Kästner from the Reconstruction Loan Corporation in Frankfurt, an institution which finances risk investments, states:

"The effect of the interest rate should not be overrated. Interesting innovations are necessary when the time comes. Action has to be taken fast, even if there are unfavourable interest rates."

Year-on-year reports by the Association of Independent German Business Men (ASU) confirm the relative insignificance of credit costs in the eyes of managers.

On a rating scale of the 12 most serious problems facing German companies, the interest rates, as Association secretary Dieter Tenhoff remarks, "are surprisingly among the last four."

Even in 1981, when interest rates were extremely high, the cost of borrowing only ranked in tenth position.

Consumers show themselves to be even more robust with regard to interest rates than the business world.

If they haven't got the necessary ready cash, they are more than willing to allow retailers to finance the purchase of TVs, fridges and new clothes, no matter how high the cost of borrowing.

The big mail-order firms, which make buying on credit easier by allowing the customer to put a cross against the desired mode of payment, have been finding this out for years.

One member of the Neckermann (mail-order form) board of firectors, Werner Piotrowski, sees the increase of on-credit buying as a result of "the lower levels of disposible incomes. Costumers don't care about the interest rate levels."

The same goes for the Hamburg-based mail-order firm Ottoversand: "There is no correlation whatsoever between interest rate levels and borrowing."

This sector, therefore, which suffered it first turnover drop since the war last year, is not unduly concerned about the development of interest rates.

Their limited expectations with regard to future business prospects are due to a different reason: the incomes of the mass of the population are stagnating.

Anonymous bankers

German bankers, who at present finance private consumption to the tune of about DM145bn, have had the same experience as retail traders.

The level of interest rates has "no effect whatsoever" on the demand for consumer credits.

And one major bankers confirmed that there is "no connection at all" in this respect.

However, none of those questioned want to be quoted. The monetary managers seemed to be scared of waking sleeping dogs.

If their customers suddenly start taking a closer look at the interest rates before buying their cars, video recorders or jewellery, the banks might lose out on profitable business.

Experts who show out what makes Mr Average tick feel, however, that such worries are exaggerated.

As Carmen Lakaschus, ... Frankfurt-based organisation ... search into marketing and ... underlines, the man on the ... going to allow his willingness ... chase to be affected by interest ...

Two other factors are more ... for this decision: unemploy... inflation.

As the inflation rate has fa... comforting three per cent, "the ... tion is heaving a sign of relief".

As Lakaschus points out, "... ple don't understand the ... of interest rates."

There are only a few ... cases of "cheap" money spur... sumers on to buy more. Even ... motives are very complex.

The furniture industry, for ... had a sudden run on produ... start of the year.

The reason was not so much ... favourable credit terms for those ... up a family, but the fact that ... the instalment savings agreeme... released at the start of the year.

The furniture trade recorded ... ver increase of 13 per cent d... first quarter of 1983.

Credit and cars

Better credit terms for car-b... more important. One in two ... man cars is ordered on a credit ...

German car-owners owe ba... private money-lenders about ... This would suggest that the dr... terest rates is not merely coinci... accompanied by an increase ... number of ccars registered.

The link between easier ... and the stimulation of the ... particularly obvious in the ... construction industry.

Ever since the mortgage ra... been brought down, there ... between 50 and 80 per cent mo... ing orders each month.

In May 1981 the effective ra... terest for five-year mortgages ... 12 per cent; by March this ye... level had dropped to about ... cent.

Someone wishing to buy a ... house on the city outskirts, bo... 80 per cent of the money need... now reckon on a monthly insta... DM2,100. Two years ago, he ... have had to pay DM3,000.

Mortgage banks are having to ... overtime at the moment. Fifty p... more residential-building loans ... granted during the first four mo... 1983 than at the end of last year.

Even the now rising interest ... which are three-quarters of a p... up on the lowest level registered ... March, will adversely effect the ... in residential building.

Many potential builders/own... applying for loans fast with an ... the likelihood of a renewed ... trend in interest rates.

This is at least one positive ... the concerned reaction to the ... rate turnabout by Count La... and Bundesbank President Pöhl.

Admittedly, the louder they ... their worries about the risk of ... terest rates killing economic re... more businesses are likely to ... them and give up hope altogether.

Politicians were not able to ... economic upswing into life. If ... not careful, their pessimistic ... may talk the promising first ... that upswing to death.

Wolfgang Gehrmann ...
Heinz Blüthmann (Die Zeit, ...)

FINANCE

Treachery lurks behind a gay springtime mood

...lthough appearances can be deceptive, Germany would seem to be on ...erge of an economic upswing, the ... within 10 years.

...d yet we are still faced by the same ...ions we were on the last two occu... Is it the kind of upswing which is ... to solve our problems, at least in ...mediate future?

...e answer is a straight-forward no. ...ough many economic indicators re... desirable and positive trends, there ...anger that we may repeat the kind ...istakes we made in the past. Too ..., the gay springtime mood of eco...ic recovery blotted out the ability to ...template the winter to come, or ...king less metaphorically, the ability ...ake the essential adjustments in the ...eral economic and social way of ...king and acting.

...p to how, we've neglected such ...ges. We tried to explain inflation, ... growth, state indebtedness and ...ployment by pointing towards the ...price of oil, the high interest rates, barriers to trade, just to mention a ... scapegoats.

We've continually skated around the ...crux of the problem for fear of having to fundamentally change our ways.

...what is the real problem?

...oth nationally and internationally, ... demand for goods and services is .... If we really wanted to provide ...n all, we could all work from early ...the morning till late at night and ...st our prosperity.

...he only requirement is that one of ...ust be willing to orientate his needs ...rding to the needs of others. This ...on must have the goods and servi... required by the other persons.

...owever, altruists of this kind are ...and far between and most people ... their activities on their own needs. ...oon as they are catered for, they are ...particularly worried about how the ...s get on.

...is assertion can be most clearly il...ated by the relationship between ... highly developed industrialised ...tries and those which are less deve...d.

...e Chinese, for example, would be more than willing to buy trawlers, tractors and other pieces of machinery from us if we showed an interest in their silk embroidery or pig's bristle.

The same applies to Africa. If we showed a marked preference for precious woods, citrus fruits and coffee, we could export a greater number of goods to this continent.

As it is, these things have meant very little to us up to now. We are only then interested in these products if we can buy them at ridiculously low prices (in terms of the efforts made to produce them). This applies to many products from Third World countries.

Or let's be honest, which of us would be willing to work an extra half-hour to be able to buy a glass of orange juice?

And yet this is exactly what is necessary if the efforts of a German industrial worker are to be rewarded in the same way as those of a Moroccan agricultural worker.

OK, no-one is going to criticise the German worker for earning as much as he can during his 40 or 35-hour week, trying to get as much holiday time as possible, or making sure that ther is a fair system of social welfare benefits and good pension schemes.

But the German worker need not be surprised if Indian and Brazilian farmers will never be in a position to buy the products the German worker produces, even though the "need" is there.

Up to now, we have tried to cover up this interrelationship by seemingly increasing the purchasing ability of our customers via lending them the money needed.

We realised that we had been fooling ourselves when our "customers" were not even able to pay back the interest on the loans we had granted them.

The deceptive appearance gave way to harsh realities. At the prices which we believe our goods and services to be worth, there is only limited international demand for such goods and services.

This fact applies not only to the relationship between the industrialised and developing countries, but also to individual domestic markets.

Certain social strata which could be demand factors behave in a similar way towards the suppliers of certain services.

They are not willing to provide particularly innovative and creative services — even if there is a demand for them — in exchange for freshly-painted windows, a weeded rose-bed or another tie.

They prefer to do without another tie and leave the windows unpainted (or paint them themselves).

And this is our dilemma! When it comes to economic upswing and full employment, it is not the need of those really "in need" which counts, whether nationally (this is a cardinal error of the union way of thinking) or internationally (an error of the trade policies practised during the past two decades).

More decisive is the need of those social strata and nations to provide goods and services for which others are willing to make great efforts to buy.

Even if it sound paradoxical to many: the needs of the well-to-do provide the primary impulse for economic growth and full employment, not those of society's poor.

The so-called locomotive theory, which states that the most powerful industrialised countries should get their economies moving to drag the other out of international economic recession, reflects part of this realisation.

However, it neglects a second aspect of the realisation, namely that the laws which apply internationally also apply to the domestic markets.

The supporting thrust of the economically powerful groups are needed if the economy is to be stimulated.

This does not mean the rich have to be made richer.

It does however imply that a new balance is needed. In an effort to establish such a balance, the economically more powerful must reach a compromise with those who are no so well-off.

This is particularly true at an international level.

So long as products from developing countries are not allowed to "cost anything" here, such countries will never be able to become true customers of industrialised countries.

This also applies to the economic and social relations within highly industrialised countries. Economic upswing cannot last unless the more powerful economic groups are motivated to make it last.

Without such motivation, the economic upswing and the fight against unemployment are dogged by almost insurmountable obstacles.

These obstacles must be removed if society is to be changed and such objectives achieved.

Dr Meinhard Miegel
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 17 June 1983)

Telling lack of clanging at the retail till

Economic trend reports and restrained economic forecasts made by the major trading companies recently would indicate that 1983 looks like outdoing 1982 as the most difficult post-war year ever for retail trading.

The turnover, profit margin and economic performance figures speak for themselves.

Above all, the department stores and the mail-order companies have not felt the effects of the recovery of consumer demand.

Mail-order companies, some of which have not exactly got a reputation for being cheap (Otto, Quelle), are suffering from something which used to be to their advantage.

Their price is valid for the whole season. This means that the mail-order firms cannot react so fast to price changes. The specialist retail trader can change the price tags over night or put "cut-price" swimsuits in the window as soon as the sun comes out.

The traditional department stores are more flexible in this respect. They have always placed an emphasis on a "wider range" and sought a more qualified demand than the self-service department stores and consumer markets.

The increased awareness of consumers of prices favours, of course, the cheaper of two offers, although cheap ought not be confused with poor quality.

The winner is the one who offers goods of equal value at a lower price.

The trading firms have to cut back their costs and economise, be more creative with regard to storing and distribution methods, organisation, range and service.

As many small retail stores in certain branches have shown, what is needed is inventiveness. Size is not decisive. In fact, the larger firms are sometimes less flexible.

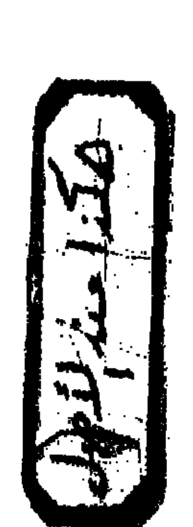
In the case of the department store companies, necessity has become the mother of invention now that the fat years where no brainwork was needed are gone.

In the food retail trade, Aldi has taken on the role of taskmaster and many chain stores are responding.

Butchers and bakers make it clear that they are not going to take things lying down.

This year could be a year of change in the retail trade.

(Rheinische Post, 16 June 1983)



■ PERSPECTIVE

Which way now? The Social Democrats go through the shake-out process

Time on the Opposition benches is meant to be a time of regeneration. The Social Democrats, voted out by the electorate, are not resolving their differences as many expected that they would. Main issues in dispute are ties with the West and the 1979 Nato decision to station missiles in Europe and negotiate in the hope that deployment would not be necessary. The left of the party now claim that in these areas, they are in a large majority. Certainly, there has been one strong reaction to the course the SPD is taking. It came in the form of a letter from 10 Social Democratic academics including Professors Kurt Sontheimer, Thomas Nipperdey, Karl Kaiser, Hartmut Jäckel and Gesine Schwan. The accused the party of encouraging left wingers who wanted to tread the middle path equidistant between Washington and Moscow. In this article, Lothar M. Marscheld outlines for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt)* the conflicting currents tugging at the SPD.

The Christian Democrats took years to come to terms with losing power in Bonn in 1969.

The Social Democrats are having similar problems adapting, but this time the symptoms are different.

There is no question of a change of leadership, since both Helmut Schmidt and Herbert Wehner have retired to the ranks, and unlike the Christian Democrats in 1969, the SPD need not feel hit by the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.

A number of Social Democrats merrily undermined Helmut Schmidt's position while he was Chancellor, fondly imagining that the SPD would gain fresh strength once it was no longer duty-bound to back an SPD Chancellor.

The assumption that a spell in Opposition would be like sabbatical leave, enabling the party to develop itself to *the full, has since proved wishful thinking.*

The main problem the SPD faces is that it is bedevilled by so many unsolved problems. Its most serious drawback at present is unquestionably the dispute over Germany's ties with the West and the dual-track Nato missiles-and-talks resolution.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Social Democrats' national executive committee has devoted itself almost entirely to this issue since the general election in March.

The debate on security policy held behind closed doors by the parliamentary party neither resolved differences of opinion within the SPD nor succeeded in papering over the extent of the differences.

The Social Democrats have changed a lot since the Nato resolution was passed, largely at Helmut Schmidt's behest, in December 1979.

The aim of the debate may not have been to hide the differences. Its avowed purpose was to arrive at a practicable choice of words until such time as the decision was reached in Geneva and to prevent the SPD's image on the issue from fraying any further.

There was an urgent need to call the party to order. The rank and file were clamouring more and more insistently for an immediate climb-down on Nato missile commitments.

The first move in this direction was made by the mid-Rhine region, the second by the Saar, and just before the debate was held the Bremen region voted in favour of a categorical "no" to the stationing of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Germany.

Burgomaster Hans Koschnick of Bremen chose to illustrate his case with an argument that could hardly be outdone in intellectual simplicity.

He said he was on the side of the millions who wanted peace and not on that of the handful who felt a nuclear war could be won.

It is hard to believe that in 1979, the year the Nato resolution was reached, Herr Koschnick was deputy leader of the SPD and his Chancellor's faithful liege.

The party leaders felt obliged to intervene by the illogical position of those who rejected a negotiated settlement even before there was any sign of one appearing.

After all, Shadow Chancellor Hans-Jochen Vogel argued from time to time, the possibility of some sensible arrangement being negotiated in Geneva could not be ruled out.

A paper drawn up by the deputy leader of the parliamentary party, Horst Ehmke, and the foreign and security policy study group accordingly sought *to keep the door open, at least optically.*

Cumbersomely entitled Statement by the Bundestag SPD on Western Alliance Policy, the Strategy Debate and the Geneva Talks, it said:

"We must not ease pressure on the Soviet Union by declaring that we have no intention whatever of considering a Nato response to the stationing of SS-20s in Europe."

The paper even recalls the motives behind the Nato resolution:

"A point that prompted the December 1979 dual-track Nato resolution was the built-up of SS-20 missiles by the Soviet Union over the years regardless of our objection that they were in breach of key Western European security interests."

Then, after advising the United States to reactivate the "walk in the woods" proposals worked out by the two chief delegates in Geneva, America's Paul Nitze and Russia's Yuli Kvitsinsky, the paper embarks on a volte-face.

The "walk in the woods" proposals last year envisaged a drastic reduction in the Soviet SS-20 potential in return for Western agreement to forgo deployment of the Pershing 2, of which the Russians are particularly afraid.

"A solution to outstanding issues," the SPD paper continues, "could be envisaged within the framework of the Start talks."

This provision made it possible for Social Democratic opponents of stationing the new missiles in Germany to endorse the paper as a whole.

The demand for the INF medium-range missile talks to lead straight into the Start talks on strategic arms reduction means in effect that the missiles need not be installed from this autumn.

It also means farewell to the dual-track decision in self-evident contradiction of the assurance that the Soviet Union must not be allowed to feel that the threat of stationing new missiles no longer applied.

The parliamentary party nonetheless gave the policy statement its approval, with nine MPs voting against it and eight abstaining.

It is interesting in this connection to note how Helmut Schmidt behaved. In several interviews the ex-Chancellor had given the impression that even he, as the "father of the dual-track decision," had changed his mind.

Representatives of the SPD's left wing promptly sought to capitalise on this. In the Social Democratic weekly, *Vorwärts*, Egon Bahr forecast that if the SPD were to have to decide that weekend on the missiles there would be a unanimous vote against them, from Helmut Schmidt to Oskar Lafontaine and from Hans Apel to Erhard Eppler.

Herr Schmidt was not prepared to accept this argument. Both on the national executive and in the parliamentary party he energetically objected to being claimed by the opponents of the dual-track decision.

He still felt the 1979 decision was right. But he is probably in a minority. Hans-Jochen Vogel said he felt Herr Bahr's estimate that 90 per cent of SPD members were currently opposed to the missiles was not unrealistic.

Willy Brandt said that if he had known then what he knew today he would not have agreed to th[e] decision at the time.

It would be underestima[ting the ex]tent of the tug-of-war within [the party to] limit it to the missiles issue [in the nar]rowest sense of the term.

A week before the par[liamentary] party met for its debate a me[morandum] drafted by 10 Social Democ[ratic academics] was published.

They included such [...] names as those of Professors K[urt Sont]heimer, Thomas Nipperdey, [Karl Kai]ser, Hartmut Jäckel and [Gesine] Schwan.

The memorandum did n[...] words about trends within th[e ...] a manner similar to that of a [...] Philippic by Richard Löwent[hal ...]chant criticism was levelled [at the] party's lack of a clear viewpoi[nt ...]tion to the Greens. It warned [...] dropping out of industrial soc[iety].

But the main objection was [...] policy trends within the party. [...]tion slogan "In the German [...] had aimed at "a kind of left-[...] man Gaullism disowning ass[...] with Western Europe and Nor[th Ameri]ca."

This had encouraged left-wi[ngers] who were keen to get the SPD [...] line of equidistance between [...] and Washington, the mem[orandum] stated.

The gall-and-wormwood [...] from SPD head office showed [...] party leadership felt cut to [...] The dons had adopted the [...] Democrats' line of argument, [...] ice said.

But this carried little convic[tion ...] happened, Johannes Rau, th[e ...] Minister of North Rhine-[Westphalia] and deputy leader of the SP[D ...] argued along much the same lin[es ...] same time as the memorandum [was re]leased.

There must be no gaining th[e impres]sion, Herr Rau said, that the S[PD was] in any way prepared to je[...] Western alliance.

Without its ties with the W[est the] Federal Republic of Germany [would] not be able to survive.

Early in 1971 Herbert Wehne[r said:] "If the SPD allows itself to [be ma]noeuvred into Opposition it wi[ll ...] split. It will then be in the same [...] as the Labour Party in Britain."

Viewed with hindsight this [...] would appear to be exaggerated [...] is clear that by switching over t[o Oppo]sition the SPD has by no means [...]ed its contradictions.

Lothar M. Mars[...]

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ [...] 19[...])

Farm subsidies

Continued from page 5

timable value for man's physical and mental well-being.

Let it be noted at this point that Europe too has a lot to answer for in this context. Many mistakes have been made in breach of the need to maintain and take care of a natural living environment.

That is not to say that common Agricultural Policy should stay as it is. Subsidies must be thoroughly revised because no-one can afford the current surpluses.

Instead of rewarding farmers, mainly large-scale farmers, for output, agriculture ought to be left in principle to the tender mercies of the free market.

Large-scale farmers can fend for themselves, whereas farmers who are unable to make ends meet but are deemed worthy of assistance for social or environmental reasons (mountain farmers, for instance) should be paid a straight subsidy to enable them to earn a reasonable income.

It would be up to politics to decide on long-term structural improvements. Europe's foremost aim must be to become self-supporting in all major farm products.

That would not only enable a suitable number of farmers to make ends meet. It is absolutely essential for a continent that has been hit by two serious [...] this century.

Over and above this objecti[ve, how]ever, European agriculture shou[ld be able] to hold its own in free compe[tition on] world markets.

Those who have a reasonable [Euro]pean agricultural policy in mind [and] not just the egoistic well-being [of far]mers and farming officials, [are] bound to agree with the Americ[an de]mands in principle if not to th[eir full] extent.

Common Market taxpayers c[an only] hope that pressure from the [United] States will at long last bring EEC [politi]cians to their senses.

Hans-Gerd [...]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 [...])

SPACE RESEARCH

German students' hopes in a hurtling drum

Süddeutsche Zeitung

[Ab]out 30 hours after the US space shuttle Challenger was launched [from] Cape Canaveral a series of scientific [ex]periments began.

[The] results are keenly awaited in Mu[nich,] Bensheim an der Bergstrasse, [...]stadt, Hildesheim and Hanover.

[On]e of the Challenger's seven pay[loads] was a 150-litre drum-shaped con[taine]r inside which five space experi[ments] began automatically.

[Th]ey were devised — and years were [spent] in preparation — by five West [Ger]man students aged between 16 and [...]

[It] began with a bright idea by a Mu[nich] aerospace firm, Kayser-Threde [Gmb]H, in 1976 when Nasa could not guarantee that the mission would [go a]head.

[Th]e Munich company, which has a [pay]roll of 80, was the first private firm [outs]ide the United States to book payload space on board the space shuttle.

[It] paid the US space agency a mere [...]00 and donated its space to *Jugend [fors]cht*, the German scientific research [com]petition for the young.

Other customers in Challenger's Ge[tA]way Special programme are Nasa, the research department of the US Navy and the US Air Force and four American universities.

The five West German youngsters have been backed financially by the Bonn Research and Technology Ministry and scientifically by staff of the Aerospace Research Establishment and the universities of Bonn, Göttingen and Munich.

Michael Pascherat, 22, a physics student from Overhagen, near Lippstadt in Westphalia, is a past prizewinner for physics in the *Jugend forscht* competition.

His experiment is to study in space the dynamics of crystal growth by means of a heatable aluminium container in which a saturated solution of potassium dihydrogen phosphate is to produce crystals at a temperature of roughly 70 degrees centigrade.

In zero gravity more perfect crystalline shapes are expected to result than on earth. Pascherat is a sixth-semester physics student at Munich University of Technology.

Herbert Riepl, 20, from Etzenhausen, near Dachau, is a second-semester chemistry student. In 1979 he was Bavarian winner and national runner-up in the *Jugend forscht* competition with his findings on the uses of dinitrogen complexes.

He hopes to identify the chemical and physical properties of a catalyst produced in zero gravity inside a furnace specially built for the space experiment by Heraeus, the Hanau manufacturers.

A nickel compound is to be heated to 205 degrees centigrade for 15 minutes so as to refine about 400 milligrams of pure nickel in the form of micro-crystals.

Marcus Buchwald, 16, is a Hildesheim schoolboy whose experiment is to expose seed grains of wheat, barley, oats and dwarf beans to heavy ion cosmic radiation.

The radiation will subsequently be identifiable on cellulose nitrate foil. The biologist-to-be plans to plant the radiation-damaged seed back home and compare its growth with that of normal seed.

Heinz Katzenmeier, 18, from Reichenbach, near Bensheim, is another schoolboy with a plant experiment.

He has pressed watercress seed into holes in a perspex sheet, plugging it into position with cellulose, to study the heavy metal intake of plants in relation to gravity.

The plastic sheet is maintained at a comfortable 28 degrees centigrade with the aid of a thermostat to encourage growth, while day and night light rhythm is maintained by artificial light.

Absorption test

On board Challenger the seed is being watered with a solution of cadmium nitrate and water.

Food intake and growth are to be stopped on Day Three so as to analyse later how much cadmium the watercress has absorbed in outer space.

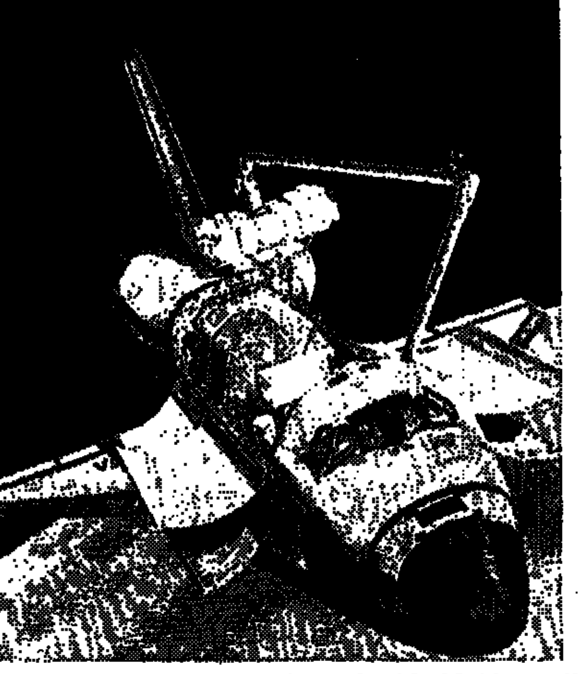
Gunnar Possekel, 22, from Beerenbostel, near Hanover, is a student of information science at Paderborn University. He devised the timing devices for the four experiments in the *Jugend forscht* container.

His microcomputer is the size of two paperback books. It is programmed to switch a laser on and off, to illuminate the container with the potassium crystal, to heat and control the temperature of the furnace and to switch the light on and off for the watercress experiment.

Timing is vital in all four experiments, so if there are any failures on this score then he will be blamed. Unless, that is, Nasa has to admit to a breakdown as it did in connection with the TDRS relay satellite.

Rudolf Metzler

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 June 1983)



Challenger and its payload SPAS-01 . . . artists impression.

(Photos: MBB)

Satellite was developed by Munich firm

Frankfurter Neue Presse

On its latest mission the US space shuttle Challenger had on board an innovation for which manufacturers in the Federal Republic of Germany were largely responsible.

It was the first time the Challenger put a satellite into orbit that was later recovered and brought back to earth.

The SPAS-01, short for Shuttle Pallet Satellite, was designed and built by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) in Ottobrunn, near Munich.

The Munich aerospace firm used its own resources while collaborating with Nasa. The Bonn Research and Technology Ministry lent financial support.

The 1.5-ton satellite with eight scientific instruments and three cameras on board started working while still on board the space shuttle.

America's first woman astronaut, Sally K. Ride, then operated a Canadian-built handler arm to push the satellite out of the loading bay and into space for an eight-hour flight.

The shuttle and the satellite will orbit the earth at an altitude of roughly 300km. The satellite will fly up to 300 metres clear of the Challenger before it is retrieved.

SPAS-01 will carry out several experiments in space while doing public relations work for Nasa; the three cameras will take still and movie photos of Challenger at work from various distances.

The photographs are being taken to mark Nasa's silver jubilee and may be screened live on TV.

The satellite cost roughly DM32m from the time the flight was booked with Nasa in May 1978 to take-off. Measuring equipment will cost an estimated DM25m more.

Project engineers used products already on the market wherever possible to cut costs.

They used carbon fibre sailboard masts to build the body of the satellite, while divers' bottles were used as gas storage containers in outer space.

dpa

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 20 June 1983)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Doomsday report's long list of fated plants

More than 30 per cent of the 2,667 varieties of fern and flowers native to Germany are extinct or in serious danger of extinction.

This is one of the findings of a report which over 50 scientists have spent three and a half years drafting. It has just been submitted to Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann.

The project group was set up in autumn 1979 by the then Interior and Agriculture Ministers, Gerhart Baum and Josef Ertl.

It was a mixed group of politicians and scientists headed by Bonn biology professor Hartmut Bick.

One of the banal yet essential points on which an effective and economic environmental policy depends is that everything is interconnected.

Another is that linear thinking, the projection of short-term trends into the future, is inappropriate to an understanding of reality.

So the authors of the report have adopted a different approach and advocate planning on the basis of a cyclical outlook.

The report begins with a catalogue of damage the environment has already undergone. Over 30 per cent of the 2,667 varieties of ferns and flowers native to the Federal Republic are either extinct or likely to become extinct.

When one kind of plant goes, the report continues, 10 to 20 species of fauna die too, so interdependent are they ecologically.

Thus 55 per cent of mammals, 44 per cent of birds and 67 per cent of reptiles in the country are classified either as extinct or in danger of extinction.

Only a fraction of the 29,000 or so kinds of insect in Germany have been closely examined in respect of their survival prospects.

But of these 3,715 species a third are said to be in danger of extinction.

If an ecological action programme is to make any sense, the report says, immediate action must be taken to protect species and their biotopes, or natural habitats.

Only if the demands listed are implemented might most of Germany's surviving flora and fauna be expected to survive. But for many endangered species help, if it comes, will come too late.

The scientists call for classification, evaluation and preservation of biotopes with a rich variety of species in all parts of the country.

These "biological islands" must be surveyed for size, location, ecological surroundings and possibilities of interlinking.

"What is needed," the report states, "is a network dense enough to ensure the exchange of genetic potential and the survival of migratory species."

The biotope protection programme must also list minimum sizes and types of biotope and ensure that they are not, as far as possible, put to other uses.

The authors are particularly insistent on the need to protect the mud-flats along the North Sea coast. Dikes and embankments, they say, must only be built on condition that the mud-flats are not reduced in surface area.

The Bonn government must no longer provide funds from the estimates earmarked for agricultural structure improvements and coastal protection.

Otherwise the Federal government would be shouldering partial responsibility for the factual destruction of the mud-flats.

A realistic ceiling must also be set for the amount of recreational use to which the mud-flats should be put. Similar limits ought, it is argued, to be set for the Alps.

Nature conservation areas and national parks must not be changed so much by extraneous influences that their target, to conserve nature, is no longer possible.

The report thus calls for buffer zones to be set up to extend sufficient protection until such time as uses are laid down once and for all.

Just as listed areas and national parks must not be put to uses that jeopardise the features that are to be protected, so uses that afford protection must be encouraged.

Agricultural chemicals would naturally be banned, whereas hunting and fishing would be permitted, but only if there was no other way of regulating the animal population.

Tourism should as a rule be forbidden, visitors being restricted so as to ensure they do no damage.

Ecologists stress the importance of safeguards for buffer zones to ensure that they are not the source of harmful influences.

The measures they have in mind would be aimed at ruling out pollution such as industrial fallout, traffic, lowering of the ground water level, fertilisers and pesticides.

Yet nature conservation alone is not enough to save nature in all its variety. Fifty-four per cent of the surface area of the Federal Republic of Germany is farmed.

Serious ecological mistakes are made in the agricultural sector. The laws of nature are criminally disregarded. Conventional farming, the report says, "has a detrimental influence on the aims of preserving species and the soil."

The experts thus call for a network of hedges, banks and mini-biotopes to be maintained or laid on. They will in part help to ensure agricultural output on a lasting basis.

This is a task that ought normally to be carried out in the course of consolidation and reallocation of arable land, whereas the trend so far has been to destroy structures that are ecologically essential.

The use of pesticides and fertilisers must be prohibited in these mini-biotope areas, the experts say. They would soonest see them used only by farmers.

Roadside vegetation, parks and gardens ought not to be treated with pesticides and fertilisers at all. A Plant Protection Act needs passing.

In farming the report would like to see the introduction of new pesticides that spare useful insects and animals. New methods of tilling and harvesting are advocated. So is careful treatment of marginal flora and fauna.

The report proposes a duty on proprietary fertilisers to prevent overfertilisation, or alternatively a fertiliser ceiling, especially for market gardeners and vineyards.

Limits must definitely be imposed on the use of nitrogen-based fe[...] protect water resources. In s[...] they might even have to be b[...]

The Waste Disposal A[...] makes legal provision for [...] offenders who use too much [...]

Less intensive agriculture c[...] had at a cost. To some exte[...] be argued that landowners [...] bound to meet the cost in the [...] terest of society.

But the cost, in terms of l[...] duction, would be negligible [...] payer inasmuch as farm [...] would no longer be produced.

For the land the experts a[...] in terms of a constitutional [...] to make landowners under o[...] bear ecological consideration[...] just as property-owners hav[...] riding obligation to abide by s[...] siderations.

They feel consideration [...] given to an environmental ta[...] vehicles to finance swifter ef[...] duce the toxin count in exhau[...]

More environmental la[...] need to be used more flexibly [...] that environmental protection [...] effective.

More careful consideration [...] be given to the efficacy of e[...] tal measures before they are [...] entire environmental toolkit [...] put to full use.

The report says the state ha[...] part to play. It and local au[...] major customers and an i[...] the market.

It is up to them to foster d[...] environmentally sound, e[...] products. The experts envisag[...] ablishment of an environmen[...] dation along consumer founda[...] to test and grade products.

Environmental tests must [...] mandatory before the go-ahea[...] for the manufacture of many [...] and production facilities, such [...] cars and generating equipment.

The report deals at length [...] uses and consumption of en[...] state, it says, must change pe[...] inspection procedures for po[...] ties to provide and added ince[...] new energy-saving techniques.

Industrial development pro[...] envisaged mainly "in small-sc[...] work systems in the framework [...] versified craft technology at a h[...] of invention."

Three sectors are given spe[...] phasis:

- biotechnology to produce co[...] ties, foodstuffs and energy;
- development of energy sou[...] dependent of commodity supplies;
- and low-energy production [...] niques using recycling and feedb[...]

The economics of water supp[...] distribution are said to be in [...] total revision. Sewage and d[...] must no longer use the rivers as [...] port system.

Marginal areas where water [...] unspoilt by man must be kept th[...]

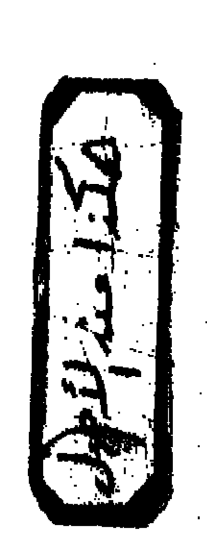
Conventional waste disposal [...] cised, especially the failure to [...] encourage full use of recycling [...] niques.

Waste should not be produ[...] such quantities. Research should [...] voted to materials that are an e[...] mental hazard and their prod[...] should be limited if need be.

The report's proposals are all [...] its authors say, on a comprehens[...] derstanding of the system. It is [...] to dealing satisfactorily with e[...] mental problems.

Rudolf Ei[...]

(Rheinischer Merkur/Chri[...])



■ EXHIBITIONS

Some gaps in an otherwise strong collection of Egyptian history

[...]n exhibition on Egyptian art and [...]istory is being held in Heidelberg

[...] section concentrates on Egypt [...]e the pyramids and the second on [...]rt during the Pharaonic millennia.

[...] loan items are from two universi[...]llections (Heidelberg and Tübin[...]five museums (Hanover, Vienna, [...]sheim, Stuttgart, and Frankfurt's [...]*ghaus*), a well-known private col[...]n in Lucerne, and the Munich [...]l Collection of Egyptian Art.

[...]can therefore be claimed that the [...]ition gives a good idea of what

[...]ptian model boat dating from between BC3,600 and BC [...]00.

[...]tian artistic treasures there are in [...]German-speaking world.

[...]ny items leave the beholder [...]hless because of the huge time [...]m.

[...]isitors may feel they understand the [...]bits, but they still must look in the [...]logue to discover exactly what they [...]admiring: a God, a king, a priest, a [...]hter of Echnaton?

[...]e impressions are often over[...]ming. A small king's head made of [...] wood for example, 12.8 cm high [...]dated at about 1400BC, is evidence [...]e magnificent skills of the master [...]smen of this period. The young [...] depicted by this sculpture has an [...]ession of knowledge, hence sorrow, [...]e contempt, engraved on his tiny [...]

[...]nother example: "Head of a Dice-[...]wer", 16.5 cm high and dating [...]about 1970BC, a facial expression [...]een amazement and fright, rigidly [...]fied the panic-like gaze.

[...]r non-expert visitors many of the [...]bits leave questions unanswered.

[...]e head of the dice-thrower, for [...]mple, is one of the many examples [...]Heidelberg which proves that each [...]isation could produce art of compa[...]e standard and quality. The almost [...] year-old sculpture is reminiscent [...]many ways of European Romanes[...]sculptures.

[...]gardless of the content of any par[...]lar civilisation, therefore, it is quite [...]onable to talk of a "development" [...]t, whereas there is no such thing as [...]urther development" in the sense of [...]ore advanced civilisation.

[...]here are doubts as to whether Egyp[...]n artists consciously "created art". It [...]more likely that most of them were [...]e concerned with fulfilling the commissioned task put before them. And it was normal that nature of these tasks was determined in most cases by religious systems. The visitor to such an exhibition, therefore, should really be familiar with this fact in order to fully comprehend the work of art before him.

Another essential prerequisite for understanding the exhibits is knowledge of the historical context surrounding this advanced civilisation.

The Sahara exhibition in Cologne in 1978, for example, suggested that the area around the Nile might have been gradually colonised by peoples from the Sahara region. The emphasis in Heidelberg is on Egyptian art, even though it is treated separately in the exhibition's general context. Explanations in one exhibition catalogue (*Bilder für die Ewigkeit*, DM18) are limited to analyses of individual items. The religious and historical context is only hinted at. The exhibition's second catalogue *Ägypten vor den Pyramiden*, DM12, has more to offer in this respect. It goes into greater detail on the historical developments between the Egyptian Palaeolithic Age to the "pre-Christian" age and the age of the "Unification of the Empire" (round about 3000 BC).

It is very well illustrated, one of the most striking pictures being that of the magnificently stylised woman dancer from Upper Egypt.

Another positive aspect in this second catalogue are the pictorial references to the excavations by the Cairo branch office of the German Archaeological Institute. There is also mention of the (financially decisive) role played by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* in Bonn. However, the visitor is still left confused. He is not informed about the meaning of terms such as "old", "middle-aged", "recent", "empire". Nothing is said about the 31 dynasties before Alexander the Great, where they came from, how they developed historically, and what implications each dynasty had. All the visitor needs is some kind of reference point covering the basic historical facts. A mere list of dates is not enough. A summary of the most important religious concepts is also missing. An English-language leaflet tells the visitor in keywords what is to be seen in the display cases. A German version would have definitely been more useful to many visitors. It is a shame that the organisers failed to consider such basic details, particularly in view of the many questions raised by the exhibition. Next time, they should not just be content with merely "presenting" the pieces.

Walter Seib

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 18 June 1983)

Limestone group of figurines 44 cm high from Egypt about 2,300 BC. (Photos: Catalogue)

Demonstration of increase in African self-awareness

Hildesheim is continuing its exotic archaeological series by presenting "Artistic Treasures from Old Nigeria" this year. Two years ago it held a Chinese exhibition.

Hildesheim was a powerful diocese back in the Middle Ages, and its magnificent exhibitions have enabled it to regain some of the aura it once had.

During the Second World War a great deal of the old part of the town was destroyed.

The Nigeria exhibition is the first time that the early artistic secrets from the area along the Niger, the "silver river", have been shown in this part of the world.

It has already been presented in New York, Oslo, London and Stockholm.

An "Art along the Niger" exhibition shown in 1971 only dealt with a part-aspect of the current exhibition. This goes to confirm to what extent collection material from the present state of Nigeria has increased during these twelve years and how greatly the claim by Nigeria to its own civilisation has grown.

This development has run parallel to the general increase in African self-awareness. The assertion by the well-known Africa researcher, Leo Frobenius, who expresses his doubts as to whether the artificial language in this area has not in fact come from outside the region, is emphatically rejected.

The opinion based on chronicles, travel reports and other finds that non-negroid groups from the Mediterranean area, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and Arabia, which travelled to this area on caravan routes, spread their techniques and artistic idea seems to be shaken.

The exhibition is split up into six sections, ranging from the pre-Christian Nok terracotta, the products found in Igbo-Ukwu, Ife, Owo and Benin, to the Tsoede bronzes.

It is difficult for Europeans to recognise the differences in style, even though they may see the differences in techniques used.

The relief woods from the famous punitive expedition by British soldiers to the Kingdom of Benin in 1897 are also on display.

As opposed to European art, which reflects the social changes undergone in each epoch, West African art objects are of a more static calibre. They are ritualised expressions, although admittedly of the greatest perfection.

There is a marked cultic rigidity even in the way animals are portrayed, and art still serves the Oba (king) and the Alaja (priest).

In view of the fact that the iron-melting techniques used for the oldest Nok

Continued on page 12

Sixteenth century plate, 43 cm high, comes from Benin.

■ MEDICINE

Causes of schizophrenia still manage to defy efforts of researchers

About a third of patients in German psychiatric wards are schizophrenics.

The illness is not widespread, but chronic sufferers often have relapses.

Despite research views still differ on whether the causes are somatic, organic, biochemical or psychogenic.

These were some of the features which emerged at a neurological symposium in Munich organised by Munich psychiatrist Hanns Hippius.

Schizophrenia is not widespread. About one per cent of the population suffer from it at some stage.

But chronic and schizophrenics often have relapses, which is why they acount for roughly one in three people in psychiatric wards.

Despite medical research we are still very much in the dark about the causes.

Treatment varies in accordance with opinion, but as it seems to be generally agreed that environmental factors affect the course of the illness. The emphasis is by no means solely on drug treatment.

Great importance is also attached to social therapy and rehabilitation. In this connection Joachim-Ernst Meyer, formerly of Munich and now head of the psychiatric ward at Göttingen University Hospital, noted the advantages of the latest sedatives.

They were, he said, not as strong as classical drugs used to sedate nerve patients. They made it possible to carry out simple rehabilitational activities at hospital. Patients were no longer flat out in bed.

Various forms of long-term use of drugs made drug therapy safer and smoother. Drug treatment was most successful with patients suffering from paranoid hallucinatory schizophrenia.

This is a form of split personality in which the patient suffers from insane ideas and hallucinations, especially acoustic ones.

Treatment was most effective with patients who had only recently begun to suffer from acute attacks of this kind of schizophrenia.

If drug therapy was kept up the patient could be almost completely sure of not having a relapse.

A series of tests were made in Göttingen. Neither the doctor nor the patient knew whether an effective drug or a placebo was given.



They proved, Meyer said, that drug treatment was indispensable. In the placebo group 72 per cent had relapses within a year and 90 per cent within 18 months.

Both groups were given the same psycho-social treatment, but the disparity was so striking that the experiment had to be abandoned prematurely for ethical reasons. Administering a placebo was no longer felt to be advisable.

Psychiatrists and patients alike find depressive phases that occur during treatment for schizophrenia problematic. These depressions are partly due to the drugs.

The doctor is in two minds. If he interrupts the long-term drug therapy he will be running the risk of his patient having a relapse into his psychosis.

Yet if he carries on with the drug treatment when it no longer seems advisable he may be unnecessarily causing serious side-effects including depression.

Shock treatment (insulin and electric shock therapy) have been used to treat acute cases of schizophrenia since the 1930s. Drugs that affect the mind have been used with success since the 1950s.

It is hard to say at all exactly how far patient has improved in the long term, but times spent in hospital have certainly been considerably reduced.

Costs have not been cut to quite the same extent. Satisfactory outpatient care requires costly manpower.

The second part of the symposium enabled the experts who took part to deal more loosely with scientific tenets in psychiatry and allied subjects.

Media expert Wolfgang Langenbucher asked whether psychiatry had a bad Press. He was felt by his audience to take a somewhat one-sided view.

He wondered whether it did not in fact have too good a Press, a Press that was too lax because it did not properly exercise its control function.

Psychiatrists themselves, unloved and misunderstood, felt for the most part they were subjected to at times inordinately one-sided, ideologically-motivated criticism by the media.

Political scientist Nikolaus Lobkowicz, who had already dealt with how left-wing generally-held views on the subject were, brought these fears to the surface.

Munich literary critic and scholar Walter Müller-Seidl, whose paper was on Psychiatry in Narrative Writing, dealt mainly with Alfred Döblin, Georg Büchner, Gottfried Benn and Arthur Schnitzler.

Criminal lawyer Horst Schüler-Springorum dealt with Marriage? Affair? Or what? (On the Relationship between the Law and Forensic Psychiatry).

He was unhappy about the mésalliance between psychiatric experts and the courts, who were often hand in glove.

His approach might allow the lawyer who had to rely on an expert opinion to do more justice to his own job of administering justice, whereas the psychiatric expert, whose medical judgements were often controversial, would be relegated more to his role as a doctor and therapist.

To the extent to which the diagnosis at the time of the offence was felt to be less important than the prognosis, or forecast of likely later progress, both expert and judge might, Schüler-Springorum argued, be better able to pass judgment in terms of the individual rather than the case.

The trouble the courts went to over expert reports ought to be concentrated on the offender's future prospects. They were what really mattered.

He did not feel his proposals were at all utopian even though they might seem to be aimed at the "therapy not punishment" approach to the drug problem.

Ethologist Wolfgang Wickler from the Max Planck Institute in Seewiesen had a number of points to make on aggression and the role of the sexes.

He readily admitted that in parallels between man and animals anyone could make any interpretation he saw fit, but felt that psychiatrists could no longer afford to disregard the findings of behavioural research.

A similar point was made by psychologist Ernst Pöppel, whose final paper was subtly, ambiguously entitled: Can Psychology Save Psychiatry?

He was only prepared to give an indirect answer, but he was de opinion that integration, ac tion, of all efforts to learn the workings of the mind if we were to gain a meani man. On the basis of a taxono of the soul geared to the th lution a bridge might be b psycho- and neuro-disciplin

He favoured a departur physicalistic view and a ch direction of neurobiologic ecological integration.

He used the abbreviation outline his theory. It combi itial letters, in German, of chronometer, reception, evaluation, action, pleasure and activation.

It could well be, Pöppel that his approach remained listic theories of one man would be a pity because it m a groundwork that could help chology and psychiatry.

Wilhelm G

(Süddeutsche Zeitung

Nigerian art

Continued from page 11

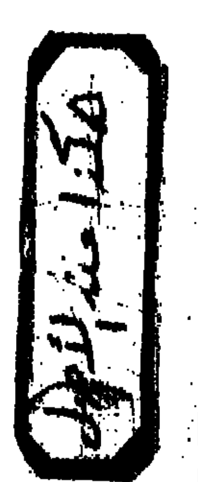
figures date from between 500 and 200 AD, the metal products from Ikbo-Ukwu (9th to 11th century) are the result of a thousand years experience with one and the same material.

The gleaming commemorative heads from Benin, a continuation of the portrait-like terracotta and brass heads from Ife, the pair of leopards, and the busts of the kings, laden with pearls and amulets, all continue the mystery surrounding Africa.

This mystery is as fascinating today as it was to Greek and Roman historiographers and Arabian cosmographers.

Ingeborg Meyer-Sickendiek

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 11 June 1983)



One in 10 t a sleeping once a we

One adult German in sleeping pill at least o the Allensbach opinion p Women take more sleepers 13 per cent are regular users six per cent of men.

But sex isn't the only ya rule both sexes only start ing pills or draughts from or so.

The older they are, the between the sexes, howeve 59 age group the figures of men and 14 per cent Among over-60s they are 1 men and 28 per cent of wome

A fair number of older to take sleepers daily. Sev admitted to doing so and said they took them sever week.

Dependence on medicine been found to be linked with of isolation and difficulty contacts.

So it is in this case. People alone are much more likely than those who are married a companion.

Frequency will also depend ther a woman works or not aged 45 to 59 who go out well as looking after a home sleeping pills as often as only.

Sleeping pill consumption women is also dependent background, whereas among matters little whether the user man, a white-collar worker ployed.

Women from families of kers take sleeping pills only often as women from families skilled workers (nine and 18 per spectively).

Eleven per cent of wives of rial staff or self-employed take sleeping pills regularly.

The Ludwig Boltzmann Addiction Studies in Innsbr changes in society and the tren small families have limited ho social contacts.

This shortcoming is often the ning of an addiction.

(Frankfurter Allgem für Deutschland, 1

BEHAVIOUR

Case for (and against) the day nursery

he angles of articles dealing with how infants are affected by home as opposed to care in institutions as day-care centres seems to de on business demands.

hen the economy needs the female ur force, there is greater emphasis the benefits of day-nurseries. In s of high unemployment, on the r hand, educationalists and social iatricians are asked to prove the osite.

ven leaving aside this assumed link, International Symposium of the man Social Paediatrics Association, erlin, was able to provide plenty of ence for the dying-down of the day- ery euphoria of recent years.

ay-nurseries are understood in this ext to be educational institutions babies and infants up to the age of e.

pparently, the results of social edu on in well-run nursery schools, ch cater for children after the day- ery period up until they go to ool, do not automatically apply to -nurseries.

Of the many traditional problems as ated with day-nurseries (high infant tality rates in "homes," "emotional pitalism"), at least two have only n inadequately solved by modern -nurseries:

greater medical risks, and

psycho-social adjustment problems:

During the Symposium, which was led "Children in Day-Nurseries," ter Scholz, Medical Director of the lic Health Office in Berlin-Tempel- f, pointed out that particularly infor tion on these more critical aspects be found in the more recent East ropean research studies on this sub .

More practical and scientific expe ce has been gathered in East Euro n countries in this field than in the st.

When first entering a day-nursery, bies and infants, whose defence me nism against infectious diseases is yet fully developed, are exposed to rge number of pathogenes.

According to Soviet findings, almost newcomers suffer from illnesses dur the first few weeks.

Czechoslovak research has confirmed afterwards those children educated day-nurseries become ill three to five es more often than children who are clusively at home.

An East German report says the dif ences decrease as the child becomes er, after reaching a reasonable level the age of three the differences to mily-educated" children have vir lly disappeared by the time the child five.

The most common diseases among -nursery children are: disorders of respiratory tracts, inflammation of middle ear and inflammation of the njunctiva, as well as various other in tious diseases.

Social paediatrician Kurt Hartung, of rlin, complained that the paediatric e and treatment in countries with a -nursery tradition is much better an in the Federal Republic.

He feels that there should be greater edical care and above all preventive re in Germany too, particularly for ildren in this age-group.

A number of children are so prone to infection that they ought not to be allowed to go to a day-nursery.

It is particularly disturbing that many mothers are forced by circumstance to take their children to the day-nurseries even though the child may be ill.

Most scientific studies which show that day-nurseries promote intellectual abilities and encourage social behaviour were carried out in the United States on children belonging to the lower social strata.

Craig T. Ramey (University of North Carolina) said a timely intervention by good social education facilities could help prevent the feared drop in IQ for children from problem families.

Bettye M. Caldwell (University of Arkansas), herself an advocate of day-nursery principles, regards a positive influence on the child's social behaviour and mental abilities as a possibility; however, this depends a great deal on the quality of the institution itself.

Particularly during the first years of the child's life, it is essential that the child has one and the same reference person if its emotional and psychological development is not to suffer.

According to Dieter Scholz, the daily separation of family and child during the child's first few years can lead to a lack of bonding experience and so-called confidence shocks. This can result in a series of adaptational and in some cases long-term disturbances.

Some studies have revealed a negative emotional development as well as problems with regard to the ability to form relationships, the child's playing behaviour and the development of its language.

A Soviet report showed that the adjustment to the day-nursery environment was only successful in the case of 40 per cent of children under review. An equal percentage share suffered from moderately severe adaptational problems such as, somnipathy, loss of appetite, indigestion or "general moodiness."

The remaining 20 per cent were affected by extremely severe and longer-lasting psychological problems.

One of the most important tasks for a day-nursery and its child-minders must therefore be to establish individually whether the child is suited for day-nursery life. The child must be carefully observed during the first few weeks.

Sonya Coulin, psychologist at the Child-Care Centre in Munich, conducted an extensive survey in which she discovered that the mothers of day-nursery children observe problems more frequently than the "family" mothers.

This relates to greater aggressiveness, greater depressive tendencies and a lower frustration threshold, i.e. the ability for the child to wait a while between the expression of a desire and its fulfilment.

Of course, such information must be interpreted with care. There is also evidence for the fact that there are hardly any differences whatsoever between family-educated and children educated in day-nurseries on a half-day basis, particularly if these children came to the nursery at an early age.

However, despite in some cases heated discussion in Berlin, there was una-

Continued on page 14



No tanks, thanks. Sample from the children's exhibition.
(Photo: Deutscher Kinderschutzbund, Hanover)

Oh! What a horrible world: child paintings shatter an illusion

An exhibition of children's paintings in Bonn gave cause for social concern, said the Bonn Minister For Youth, Family Affairs and Health, Heiner Geissler.

He said the exhibition revealed that children do not see their environment as ideal. It was hostile and needed change.

This, said the minister, was itself a political statement.

The paintings were by 38,000 children aged between eight and 14. Few featured the happy and pretty world one would expect to find in a child's mind.

Most expressed fears of environmental destruction, of war or of getting bad marks at school.

Herr Geissler said that one disadvantage of a democracy is that not everyone could vote. So the interests of children were often neglected and left unexpressed.

The childless voter had the same vote as the father of five children.

Geissler urged politicians to speak up for those in society who cannot.

The government in Bonn is hoping to improve the living conditions for children with the help of its family-policy campaign.

The President of the German Child Protection Society, Professor Bärsch, also took the children's paintings to be a warning to adults.

The painting competition was organised by the Child Protection Society together with the "Private Initiative for the Family."

The exhibition will then travel around German towns and cities for one year afterwards.

It doesn't really matter whether the children are trying to hold up a mirror to the adults of their terrible world or whether the adults prompted the children into presenting the world in such a way.

Even the fear in a child's imagination is still real. Imagined stress at school becomes more vivid.

Parents who visit the exhibition will have to do some serious thinking when faced with such paintings, many of which bear witness to the increasing pressure on children to do well and get good marks at school at all costs.

One painting, for example, shows a child lying forward across its school desk. Above the child, a flash of lightning races through a storm-cloud. Inside the storm-cloud, there is a devil on the left-hand side and an angel on the right-hand side.

A 12 year-old girl portrayed herself as a tiny being standing in front of a chimney stack surrounded by signs prohibiting her and ordering her to do certain things: "Leave some for Dad, practise on your guitar, learn your English vocabulary, do you have to keep hiding away in your room? ..."

What families haven't gone through this before?

Another painting shows three children and their parents sat at a dining table. Balloon captions can be seen coming out of Mum and Dad's mouths, full of complaints and warnings.

Industrial landscapes, dying forests, people wearing gas masks, rubbish tips, high-rise buildings, dead drug addicts, horror visions of mushroom clouds and war. Is this really the world of children today? Or has the jury deliberately made a limited selection?

It was easy enough to believe what a 15 year-old Vietnamese boy painted. A war scene, with aircraft, tanks, burning houses, an abandoned children's playground and a small lake with a few white ducks swimming on it.

Many of the prizewinners are children of Germany's foreign workers.

A class of Turkish children from Augsburg, produced a combined painting, which shows more joy of life than most of the paintings by the German children.

It shows a colourful group of children skipping and playing ball game in front of a high grey wall and beneath grey skies. They stuck the children in the painting together using scraps of cloth.

The grey wall was printed on to the paper using potatoes. They used a sponge for the sky and a tea-strainer and tooth-brush for the sand at the front of the painting.

A nine year-old Greek girl from a Greek school in Nuremberg painted a series of impressions: how her mother warns her about the danger of traffic on German roads, an injured child sat in a room and finally a dream: sand, sun water. Underneath the painting in large

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■ EDUCATION

Curious ethnological point: the students roll in as the professors roll out

The number of students studying ethnology at German universities is rising fast.

There are many reasons for this sudden popularity. Together with the appeal of the unknown (culture, social system etc.), many students are hoping to find answers to some of life's fundamental questions: are wars and violence part of human nature? Do other races and nations have better ways of preventing social conflict?

Others are only interested in bridging the waiting period before studying the subject they really want to study.

A case in question is 21 year-old Ruth, who instead of waiting for five years to study psychology decided to take up ethnology at Berlin's Free University.

Interest in other cultural groups has also grown because many young Germans are unhappy with their own cultural heritage and background.

During recent years, an unusually large number of school-leavers have opted to study ethnology, a subject which only had about 10 or 20 students just a few years ago.

Today, ethnology departments are finding it difficult to cope with the rush and the 2,000 students in Berlin have brought the department there to the verge of collapse.

Many would-be ethnologists are hoping to find jobs which correspond to their qualifications. A field of scientific research which was once limited to a select minority therefore, now runs the risk of being overrun.

Professor Rolf Herzog, chairman of the German Ethnological Society, feels that the interest is based on a mixture of Rousseau, Karl May and genuine personal commitment for the problems of the Third World.

Another motivating force is seen to be the subject's general educational value.

Philosophy professor Jacob Taubes from Berlin sees the desire of young people to get to know the life-styles, rites and myths of foreign peoples as the main factor. An expression of the feeling "things can't go on the way they are". This assumption was confirmed by a survey carried out in a Berlin ethnology department. Students were asked to describe their motives for seeking different ways of life, religions and moral concepts, as well as arguments against German society.

Many stated that they wanted to "get away from normality". They object to existing social constraints and the general security-mindedness.

This is one of the reasons why they don't mind studying a subject which offers them little or no job prospects when they finish their studies.

As one third-semester student put it, they want to keep their minds open for new ideas and "not simply give up".

In an effort to prevent the total collapse of the teaching capacity for this subject, most universities have been forced to restrict or even ban further ethnology admissions. Berlin's Free University has also decided not to take on any more students for this subject.

At first glance, its seems rather odd that Berlin should be such a centre for those who want to study ethnology.

The fear of army conscription (German nationals resident in Berlin cannot be conscripted) cannot be the only reason, as many of the newcomers to Berlin have been studying for some semesters already and so cannot be called up anyway.

The city's real appeal would seem to be different "scenes", which particularly help students to discover their own personal identities. Especially the alternative groups, house occupiers and women's lib groups appear to play an important part here.

The ethnology department at the Free University also holds the record for the sorry state of teaching and research.

As the students have increased, the teaching staff has dropped. Once there were four professors. Now, the last one is about to leave and there will be noone in the department entitled to carry out final examinations.

One professorship has been vacant for some time and another was vacated by the former head of the department. Yet another professor didn't feel up to the strain.

This leaves just one professor who does his best to keep things going with the help of an equally limited number of academic assistants. His contract, however, expires at the end of the current semester.

Berlin's Senator for Science and Research, Wilhelm Kewenig, saw the state of emergency as an opportunity to "do things properly". He set up a special commission made up of German and foreign ethnologists to give some serious thought to ways of reorganising the ethnology department.

He was hoping to find a way of catching up with the Humboldt University in East Berlin, which has always been the ethnology centre in Berlin.

Kewenig urged the university ethnologists to cooperate more closely with the much-respected Museum for Ethnology, just a few streets away from the university.

Although lectures are [...]
given by those working in the [...]
there has been a lack of clos[...]
between the two institutions [...]
the troubled times of studen[...]
in the late 1960s.

Kewenig would also like to [...]
ter contact between the unive[...]
the Museum for Folklore.

He therefore suggested se[...]
special research area on Germ[...]
re within the research field of E[...]
ethnology.

This, however, did not appe[...]
versity staff. German folklore [...]
misused by the Nazis that it h[...]
taboo subject ever since.

Apart from the fact that h[...]
scientists have made a name f[...]
selves in this field, the unive[...]
not feel that there would be m[...]
est among students for such a [...]
area.

The special commission set [...]
wenig also showed restrain[...]
point. It was more keen on [...]
the suggestion by the Free Uni[...]
deal with the problems of forei[...]
rities in German conurbations, [...]
urban ethnology as it were.

One advantage for students [...]
with this aspect would be the [...]
of field research on their own d[...]

The commission advised the [...]
to make better use of existing [...]
ties rather than to spend too [...]
new material.

In view of the existing libr[...]
and the current scientific resea[...]
university, research emphasis [...]
continue to be placed on Afric[...]
Near and Middle East.

The spokesman for the com[...]
Professor Herzog, recommend[...]
the department appoint [...]
perts as honorary professors [...]
their interest in academic affa[...]

This would help access by [...]
dents to the museum's excellent [...]
list library.

The commission again show[...]
traint over a list of appointme[...]
will be submitted to the univer[...]
request".

However, in an effort to mai[...]
teaching capacity it calls upon [...]
versity to advertise for at least [...]
fessorships. This recommendat[...]
taken up by the university's [...]
senate.

It suggested to the university [...]
tee that the two best paid positi[...]
centrate on the regional researc[...]
Asia and Africa. Later, two [...]
fessorships should be created.

However, it will take two years [...]
the first professor can take up h[...]
tion on account of the lengthy [...]
ment procedure. Until then, a[...]
gency programme including vis[...]
turers will keep the department [...]

Certainly not good news for the [...]
dents, who nevertheless are not [...]
vociferous in their protest.

It seems very difficult to get [...]
meetings together nowadays a[...]
is virtually no response to calls f[...]
kes or similar protest action.

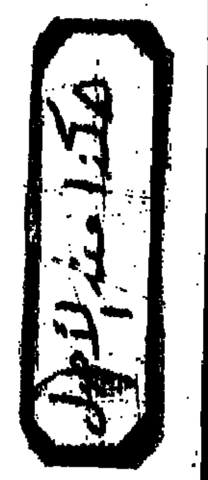
There is general apathy and w[...]
wal into one's own private sphe[...]
second-semester ethnology stu[...]
appalled at the fact that nothin[...]
pens "despite the fact that th[...]
robbing the students of the very [...]
their studies".

Cancelled grants, gloomy jo[...]
spects and overcrowded lecture [...]
dampen the willingness to take [...]

"Now, the situation is urge[...]
down the line, no-one knows wh[...]
start protesting."

Ruth Beg[...]

(Die Zeit, 10 [...])



Day nurseries

Continued from page 13

nimous agreement that the state should do more to encourage family education than day-nursery education.

This does not mean that day-nurseries should be condemned; there must be a pluralistic system to cater for the differing needs and requirements of parents.

To put it in a nutshell: just as there are "good" and "bad" families, there are "good" and "bad" day-nurseries.

Justin Westhoff

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 June 1983)

MODERN LIVING

Changing political mould of terror groupings

[...]nity in the anti-imperialist struggle. [...]We shall overcome!" Once, there [...]'t much doubt that this was a left- [...] slogan.

[...] Bundeskriminalamt, or Federal [...] in Wiesbaden and the state units [...] the Cologne-based *Verfassungs-* [...]tz, or Office for the Protection of [...] Constitution, the counter-intelligen- [...]ency, can no longer be so sure.

[...] March the avowedly left-wing Re- [...]ionary Cells bomb-blasted the [...]eldorf office of Standard Elektrik [...]nz, an ITT subsidiary.

[...]ing this slogan they claimed that [...] was backing right-wing dictator- [...] with cash and weapons technology. [...] April it was the boot on the other [...] Neo-Nazis Odfried Hepp and [...]er Kexel sent the left-wing West [...] newspaper *Die Tageszeitung* a [...]ation proclaiming similar slogans. [...]orward in the anti-imperialist [...]le," the two right-wing terrorists [...] at the end of their letter. That was [...]w departure for both the *Bundes-* [...]*inalamt* and the *Verfassungsschutz.*

[...]t year there were about 100 raids [...]S facilities in Germany, including [...] which people were injured and [...]. All 10 were the handiwork of [...]wingers.

[...] October 1981 Klaus-Dieter Hew- [...], 26, and his wife Christine, 22, [...] arrested by a Belgian anti-terrorist [...]d in Ghent.

[...] their hideout the police found [...]pons, forged papers and addresses [...]cists in France, Belgium, Spain [...] Ireland.

[...] Germany they were due to be pro- [...]ed for offences in connection with [...]raph 129a of the criminal code [...]bership of a criminal association).

[...]edhelm Busse, leader of the Peo- [...] Socialist Movement of Germany, [...] was banned after a shoot-out [...] the police, faces similar charges.

[...] when the Heweckers are tried in [...]ch soon they will be charged sole- [...]ith bank robbery and embezzle- [...], and they plan to stymie the dead- [...]y going on hunger strike.

[...]om the prison where they claimed [...] were being held for political rea- [...] they too wrote to *Die Tageszeitung* [...]rlin.

[...]e believe," they wrote, "that petty [...] interests can be set aside by those [...] claim to be undogmatic.

[...]ll it needs is to go by a number of [...]iding principles such as anti-impe- [...]m, anti-racism and anti-fascism to arrive at as broad as possible a resistance front at all levels."

Even the anti-impis, as militant undogmatic left-wingers call themselves, were taken aback by the new comrades who laid claim to their solidarity.

Right-wing terrorist Michael Kühnen wrote to *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt* last year outlining the neo-Nazis' change of course.

Writing from the maximum security wing of Celle prison he envisaged a kind of truce with left-wingers with a view to weakening the current system, an aim held in common.

There were members of the alternative movement, the peace movement and anti-nuclear campaigners who were opposed to certain aspects of the prevailing system for entirely honourable motives, he said.

Common campaigns were conceivable. Young National Socialists could well demonstrate against the proposed new runway at Frankfurt airport or against housing speculators.

"We have always said we were socialists," Kühnen wrote.

The stationing of medium-range US missiles in Germany will in all probability prompt both left- and right-wing raids. Anti-imperialism mainly means anti-US Army.

"The political scandal," the Revolutionary Cells berated West German left-wingers last April, "is not that fascists have been able to convert into military moves this viewpoint widespread in the peace movement."

The viewpoint referred to is the argument that the Federal Republic of Germany is an occupied country and a nation threatened both culturally and in nuclear terms.

"The scandal," the Revolutionary Cells continued, "is that such a viewpoint exists at all and that it has been possible to exclude social revolutionary and anti-imperialist positions yet span the entire range of left-wing reformists.

"From the anti-missile petitioners to *Die Tageszeitung* and the Greens it is a viewpoint that has been used to extend the coalition capacity of the peace movement to nationalist or even fascist positions.

"This has been partly done deliberately, partly in unwitting naivete."

The Red Cells said they had not arranged raids in connection with President Reagan's visit to Germany last June or the Bonn Nato summit merely because *Dallas* was to be screened on TV for a further season.

Yet West German left-wingers as a whole showed increasing signs of cultural pessimism in respect of the spread of American culture.

Hitler had expounded this viewpoint in a single sentence by saying that there was more culture in a single Beethoven symphony than all America had so far produced.

The Revolutionary Cell pamphlet *Beethoven v. McDonald's* prompted an unusually heated correspondence in the letters columns of *Die Tageszeitung.*

The response could only be compared with that to controversial subjects such as paedophilia, speed limits for private cars and the sacking of a staff writer for *Emma*, the women's lib magazine. One correspondent was most upset by the cultural infiltration of the US occupation forces as evidenced by Coca-Cola and McDonald's, Charles Bukowski instead of Friedrich Schiller and Sammy Davis Jr. instead of the German New Wave.

"We can be gratified there is a wall running through Germany," Hepp and Kexel write. "It at least ensures the survival of 17 million healthy Germans in the eastern part of the country.

"The minds and souls of people here in the West are in the process of stultification," the two neo-Nazis note in a pro-Soviet pamphlet entitled *Farewell to Hitlerism.*



Visions of a truce with the extreme left . . . neo-Nazi Michael Kühnen.
(Photo: dpa)

Christian Lochte, the head of the *Verfassungsschutz* in Hamburg, does not dispute for a moment that a clear line can no longer be drawn between left- and right-wingers in some respects.

Last December he was one of the first experts to suspect that neo-Nazis were responsible for bomb raids on American servicemen in Germany.

He says there has been no ideological rapprochement, however. *Farewell to Hitlerism* is in his view a pedestrian venture in intellectual terms.

"If Kühnen is unrealistic enough to imagine he might be able to fight alongside left-wingers he is mistaken," Herr Lochte says.

But he is reluctant to forecast what might happen in the long hot autumn that is expected to lie ahead.

Might neo-Nazis try to bomb their way into the political fairway of the peace movement? He was not prepared to engage in public speculation on this point.

Rainer Jogschies

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 12 June 1983)

Rotten world

Continued from page 13

[...]s, we find the words "Oh, if only I [...]d be in Greece."

[...]e positive paintings at this exhibi- [...] are those depicting dreams.

[...]any children see themselves inside [...]-house; one child painted a "chil- [...]'s park" with a stockade and shops [...] a sign "Adults Keep Out!".

[...]nother child turned the motorway [...] a roller-skating paradise.

[...] view of many of the fears shown at [...] exhibition, it's a good thing that [...] are at least no limits to the dreams [...] child.

Brigitte Mohr

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 June 1983)

Stiff right arms on an old soldiers' body

A German war veterans' organisation, *Stahlhelm*, has problems with members who want to give the Nazi salute.

Some members were threatened with bodily eviction from this year's meeting in Celle if they didn't desist, according to the *Stahlhelm* head, Paul Koch, 70.

"They trembled as I warned them, but they said yes," Herr Koch told a Press meeting in Celle.

At the 1977 conference in Aachen there was an Italian delegate who just couldn't keep his right arm down.

He didn't know the Nazi salute was banned in Germany. Two other delegates had been unaware of the fact too.

Herr Koch has since taken care to ensure that the organisation does not run into trouble. "Before our meetings we always make a point of saying there must be no right arms raised."

He prefers not to use the Nazi salute even at gatherings in other countries where there is no such ban.

In Flanders he once attended a public meeting where the Horst Wessel Song, a Nazi anthem, had been played. Everyone else had stood up and sung.

He had preferred to remain seated and stay quiet. Afterwards he had been asked whether he was really a German.

The Stahlhelm, he assured journalists, is not extremist. It expressly acknowledges the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Paul Koch is used to trouble with the discipline of his comrades even though discipline and the spread of soldierly thought are aims of the organisation.

He is also used to trouble with the media. Nearly everything that was written about the *Stahlhelm* was wrong, he complained.

But he refused to be specific when pressed for details by journalists. He also refused to admit the Press to any of the conference sessions.

He would not even say what topics were to be discussed or how many members the organisation had.

The *Stahlhelm*, he said, did not engage in public activity at all. It pursued its aims by word of mouth.

The public might never have learnt that a meeting was to be held in Celle had not the burgomaster felt duty bound to say a few words of welcome.

Oberbürgermeister Helmut Hörstmann and town clerk Ulrich von Witten wrote how pleased they were that Celle had been chosen as a venue, establishing ties with the traditions of a garrison town.

They also hoped that all participants would feel at home in Celle, despite the expression of dissatisfaction by a minority of local opinion.

This minority included the trade unions, the Social Democrats, the Greens, some Free Democrats, the Protestant Church, the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation, the Association of People Persecuted by the Nazi Regime and various other groups.

At meetings on successive days they voiced dissatisfaction not only with the Stahlhelm gathering but also with the civic authorities.

Stones and fireworks were thrown by a few unidentified individuals among the 1,000-strong demonstration on the Saturday.

[...] the 700 police on duty to protect the 200 *Stahlhelm* delegates with an opportunity to retaliate. One police water cannon inadvertently bombarded a platoon of policemen.

Many *Stahlhelm* delegates were elderly men, but there were youngsters too who gathered beneath the German Imperial flag.

The assembly hall where the meeting was held was cordoned off by police as delegates passed through. It was like a fortress. Two delegates from Peine, near Brunswick, were asked by journalists what the organisation's aims were. The elder replied with a quotation from the classics.

"Our knowledge and understanding are shrouded in darkness," he said. And went in.

Eckart Spoo

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 June 1983)